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# East Europe Report

SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE

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14 MAY 1987

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SHORTCOMINGS, TASKS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION VIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Dec 86 pp 1, 6

[Article by I.G.: Big Tasks Ahead for Agricultural Production]

[Text] The agricultural committee of the General Assembly met--Miklos Villanyi's briefing

The agricultural committee of the General Assembly was briefed yesterday about the agricultural situation. In the session chaired by Ferenc Dobi, Miklos Villanyi, under-secretary of Agriculture and Food Industry, reported that the gross production value of agriculture exceeds that of last year by 2 to 2.5 percent, but falls short of the plan by 4 percent. Food production does not reach the planned level either.

The primary reason for the falling back of the agriculture is that only 14 million tons of cereal crops could be harvested instead of the planned 15.5 to 16 million tons. This happened so, although corn yielded a record harvest this year despite the serious draught. Cereals, however, suffered severely from the bad weather. The 1.5 million ton loss of crops could not be substituted with corn.

Winter cereals do not look very promising either now, in December--said the under-secretary. Since the sowing, average precipitation in the whole country has been less than usual by more than 100 millimeters (about 4 inches). In several counties, precipitation did not reach even 20 millimeters (0.8 inches). Perhaps never have winter cereals stood so bad in December. 46 percent of the sown grains have not sprunged, and 66 percent of the green wheat was classified as poor quality during reviews.

Even so, however, the situation is not hopeless. The actual sowing area of cereals exceeds the projected area by 3 percent, so, sooner or later, when weather becomes rainy--and if winter damages will not be more severe than usual--then next year's 16 million ton cereal production plan can be met.

The whole 1987 agricultural plan sets high standards. Planners prescribed a 4.4 to 5 percent growth, which is by large above the average of the national economy, accompanied by a 2.4 percent growth of the food industry. Similarly to this year, the exports of the branch have to find buyers on saturated markets, since no perceptible improvement can be forecast. This year, however, slight improvement was experienced in meat exports, and the favorable tendency may be expected to continue. Nevertheless, the price of cereals, oil seeds and vegetable oil have, unfortunately, stayed very low on the world market.

Agricultural plants are mostly familiar with next year's conditions of production. The modification of regulators will favorably influence the revenue-producing ability of agricultural plants and will enhance their willingness to invest. In animal husbandry, first the quick-pace dairy farm reconstruction started, then the renovation of hog plants began, at last, favorable changes are being effected in sheep growing and the already started developmental process of the poultry industry is continuing, too. The under-secretary strongly emphasized that what occurred in the beginning of the 70' cannot be repeated. Only safely operating, economical and cost-effective technologies can be introduced in animal husbandry.

The delegates listened to the report of Antal Kovacs, under-secretary, about the situation of water supply. The president of the National Bureau of Water Conservation told that the extraordinary draught caused not only a significant loss of harvests, but also water shortage and a considerable cost increase of the water supply. Unfortunately, the proportion of irrigated areas has not increased despite reduced irrigation fees. Key words about the achievements of water management: more than 100,000 citizens received water in tubes and, as a result of a variety of measures and of investments, the water of Lake Balaton reached first class level this year, except in the Keszthely bay.

In the wide-ranging debate prompted by the report delegates sought answers for problems in two basic issues. One is: why has the setting of strained agricultural tasks been legitimized in the national economy planning? Karoly Fabian (from Gyor county) asked whether it is realistic to plan 16 million tons of cereal crops when that quantity has never been reached during several years of draught. Miklos Villanyi held the opinion that with the present biological and technological level of agriculture, this quantity can be produced without any difficulty in a year under average weather conditions. He also averred that the improvement of production efficiency can be expected in agriculture as well as in any other production branch.

The other issue the delegates insisted on discussing was related to the wide-ranging development of animal husbandry, which has already begun. Istvan Fodor (from Pest county) inquired about what guarantees there are that agricultural plants will not spend state subsidies granted for development on deficient technology, as appened at the beginning of the 70's. According to the undersecretary, this guarantee does not have to be given by the government but by the intellectual qualities of



professionals at the plants. No administrative regulation and restriction is necessary. Every plant has to know what is really good, economical and effective for it under its own circumstances.

Jozsef Solymosi (from Tolna county) asked about the complicated situation evolving around vine-growing and viticulture. Miklos Villanyi said that wine made of grape is not in a crisis and will never be. Problems concern other products of the wine industry. The government is determined to develop vine-growing and viticulture. The other problem is that the change of the market requires a rethinking of a series of formerly held concepts. What is already obvious: we can get a foot in both the domestic and foreign markets only with wines of high quality categories.

13 212

CSO: 2500/109

## ECONOMISTS, FINANCE MINISTRY OFFICIAL CLASH ON PRICING POLICY

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 11, 15 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by L. : "Pricing Policy"]

The Center for Economic Consultation and the Economic Organizations' Club in the Warsaw PTE [Polish Economic Society] Division organized a meeting devoted to the problems of pricing policy. The introduction preceeding the discussion was given by dr Wojciech Pruss, the financial vice-minister.

He reminded everyone that the National Socio-Economic plan approved by the Sejm for the years 1986-90 states three goals in the section dealing with the setting of prices. These are: to keep inflation down below 10 percent; to create conditions, through changes in the levels and relationships of prices, in order to make economic accounting more objective on the macro and micro scale; and to eliminate the inflationary gap and obtain a stable balance, in the first phase, on the consumer and the investment goods markets.

It is worthwhile to note a certain kind of contradiction between these goals, at least in the short term. The creation of conditions for making economic accounting more objective and the establishment of a balance must bring with it an increase in prices, which is contradictory to the goal of keeping the inflation indicator low.

Honest economic accounting, which can be used to optimize economic choices, is possible in a situation where price balance is shaped under the force of competition. We, however, have neither balance nor competition. Moving somewhat ahead in the discussion there was a question asking whether under our conditions the creation of competition is even possible. And then if we can ever have true pricing. To this somewhat skeptical comment by a discussion participant Vice-minister Pruss replied that we have greater potential for competition between producers than is generally thought. This mainly applies to the producers of commodities. Today, we have hundreds of enterprises which manufacture food items (the milk cooperatives alone contain 800 enterprises), or products of the light manufacturing industry, and these two areas decide the state of the market.

But as long as there is no balance, each producer acts like a monopoly. But this does not mean that at least some of the prices cannot be given a parametric character. The "Directions of Reform..." for example stated that domestic prices for basic raw materials will be derived from prices used in international trade. This statement was not fully implemented. Only recently are transaction prices being more widely used when imported goods are sold inside the country (this applies mainly to all raw materials used by the light manufacturing industry and the chemical industry). There is a motion, that starting in the second quarter, all imports purchased with foreign currency should be accounted for at transaction prices.

The parametric character of prices is still being warped by high budget subsidies. In recent years the participation of subsidies in the national income grew (in 1983 it was 12.3 percent, in 1984 - 13.2 percent, in 1986 - 13.6 percent). The participation of the subsidies also grew in budgetary expenditures (in 1986 - 29.4 percent). In comparison with 1983 the amount of subsidies doubled (from 730 billion zloty to 1456 billion in 1986). The fastest growing subsidies were those intended for production resources in farming, though their participation is small (a growth from 30 billion zloty in 1983 to 145 billion presently), and subsidies to coal mining. Only additional payments to the procurement price of coal rose from 97 billion zloty in 1983 to 275 billion zloty in 1986. If we add the subsidies to the market price of coal (80 billion zloty in 1986) then we see that the total additional payments for coal amount to about 355 billion zloty.

The example of coal well illustrates the dilemma connected with the attempts to limit subsidies. As of 1 January the procurement price of coal rose by 25 percent. Today, the average price is 5025 zloty. The average cost of extracting a ton of coal in January is 5750 zloty (of course this is a balance sheet cost, not taking in all the cost factors involved in obtaining the coal). The subsidy, then, is "only" 725 zloty. It seems then that making coal extraction profitable is not too far away. All that is required is to raise the price by 25 percent, not just to cover costs, but to provide about 500 zloty in profit per ton. But this is an illusion. Each price increase strongly affects the price of extraction. To make coal mining profitable would require an increase not of 25 percent but of nearly 60 percent.

Vice-minister Prusa reminded all that the question of the rate at which subsidies are to be curtailed is still open. Because the NPSG [National Socioeconomic Plan] expects a 100 percent increase in prices over the 5 year period, the freezing of subsidies at the level of the first year in the 5 year period would mean an approximately 50 percent real reduction in the subsidy for 1990. A second variant forecasts the real reduction of the subsidy by nearly 75 percent during the 5 year period, which indicates a reduction in the absolute subsidy amount.

For consumers the most sensitive matter is the imbalance in the consumer goods market. In this instance over the last 2 years one cannot even speak about improving the situation. After a period of improvement during 1983-1984 the so-called inflationary gap widened. In 1985 the demand from the current income of the population was higher than the supply of goods and services on the market, about 200 billion; in 1986 it was about 175 billion. This is

about 3 percent of the value of the items supplied to the market (without allowing for the so-called inflationary overhang). This gap may not seem so great. The NPSG, however, as is well known, assumes a relatively small increase in products supplied to the market. In this situation the gap is to be eliminated mainly through price manipulation and stopping wage increases.

The second goal is served by the tax guillotine, which comes into play when an enterprise exceeds a 12 percent growth in pay. The enterprise economists present at the gathering noted an extremely strong counter-motivational factor in this solution. Much controversy was aroused by the principles of price setting. On the one hand, it was said, there are intentions of introducing a more flexible pricing policy, on the other, the system for price setting is so constructed that we still generally have pricing at cost levels. Vice-minister Pruss argued that from the viewpoint of the legal regulations there is no prohibition to the use of prices not related to cost. The enterprises should try to use balanced prices. Profit should not be treated as an addition to costs, but as the difference between cost and price. It is a fact that the formula concerning excessive profit no longer exists, stated the enterprise representatives defensively. It was replaced by the concept of the excessive price. But in daily practice the various controls call upon that formula for justifiable costs and are always guided by the concept of the so-called fair profit.

A more elastic pricing policy would mean price changes more frequently than now. Representatives of enterprises have complained that already the frequent price changes are causing them many difficulties, make planning more difficult, increase office work. One of the results of increased prices for supplies is that end manufacturers are late in calculating the new prices and thus reduce their profit. The vice-minister recommended that planning and price calculation be based on the price forecasts, as is done around the world. The enterprise representatives again spoke up unanimously that the bureaucratic system of price setting and control makes this action impossible. Those enterprises which set their prices using the forecasts, not the official price lists for materials and semi-finished products which often arrive late, are penalized by the controls. The most accurate comment on these polemics was heard after the meeting. "The vice-minister for pricing is correct," said one of the participants, "but it is unfortunate that his views are not respected by the directors of the treasury chamber and all the other institutions that control the enterprises."

12411

CSO: 2600/467

## ECONOMISTS SEE DIM PROSPECTS FOR RESTRUCTURING INDUSTRY

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 11, 15 Mar 87 p 15

[Article by Lucjan Malan : "Perspectives for Restructuring"]

[Text] In December 1986 an All Poland scientific conference took place in Bydgoszcz on the subject of restructuring the economy. The conference was organized by the Provincial PTE [Polish Economic Society] Administration, and was directed by prof. Jozef Pajestka. The conference sought to answer the question if there are real possibilities for restructuring Polish industry. Unfortunately the conclusion was not, in the light of recent experience, an optimistic one, and could be attributed to two sets of causes.

First, the central administration in its present organizational structure is not able to force major movements in the production macrostructure. Second, in the present system of financing and the formalized credit policy by the NBP [Polish National Bank] the average enterprise does not have the financial resources to realize its development programs which then causes changes in its production profile. The enterprise is alone.

The central administration is composed of, in the opinion of the conference participants, at least two groups whose aims and interests are at cross purpose on a very fundamental level. The branch departments are the remains of old management structures without many of their old powers. They try to influence ongoing events in a way which is reminiscent of a melee, in which it is uncertain what is going on. Moreover, many of these activities are not beneficial to the other group, the so-called functionally grouped center, that is the Governmental Presidium, the Planning Commission, the functional branches, and the NBP. The second group is not, at least this is the social perception and the understanding of the managerial cadres in the enterprises, responsible for the development of the economy, but only for "guarding" it. The daily attitude in the behavior of these institutions toward the problems in the development of industry is one of neutrality, and often of apathy. This is most keenly felt by small enterprises, and from another source we know that they are most receptive to restructuring.



The large and medium sized enterprises do not play a major part in this because the founding organizations and existing customers will not allow them to change their production profile. Moreover, there is no competition in this highly monopolized area of production, and no stimulus for export, which leads to the hardening of the product assortment structure. Where then is the key to restructuring? There may be many answers, but during the conference the system for financing the enterprises was most often mentioned.

The ability for an enterprise to develop in a situation when it finds a so-called gold vein in the form of, for example, a favorable export situation or a new assortment of products is so limited that almost always they will engage in adaptive investment and end up with growing financial difficulties which are always accompanied by even greater irritation to the financing bank. Development means the growth of movable assets, especially the materials inventory. Development credit, if given, must be paid from profits which is a detriment to further investment. The possibility for getting investment credit is a fiction, because in its usual practice the NBP does not give such credit to the small enterprises. The attitude of the financial organs to this type of effort is chiefly one of unwillingness. Sometimes one gets the impression that the most important thing to them is the formal/lawful order and the proverbial holy peace, while risk and dynamism seem to have a distinct odor about them.

This is why enterprise management is mostly concerned with survival and avoidance of financial problems in the near future. This threatens with a further advance in the paralysis of development and those things connected to it: the restructuring of the economy. The consequences of this would lead to a compromise in the reform which was to bring about this restructuring and the resultant growth in efficiency. The role of the NBP and the Financial Ministry in the field of developing Polish industry should undergo a change. They must share the responsibility for the development of the economy. All that is necessary is to run a simulation of the financial situation in the small enterprise as time passes, with the assumption that it will develop quickly, so that the creators of the financial system could realize that the model they are using is simply bad, that it applies to an altogether different situation.

At the same time the sizes of the subjective, but especially, of the objective subsidies are so huge that in a straightforward manner they demonstrate the grand scale fiscal policy applied to healthy enterprises with growth potential. Several hundred small enterprises are needed to supply the tax revenue to cover the subsidies to, for example, the Katowice Steelworks. This leads to an absurd situation, something pointed out by experts from the World Bank. In asking then, about the shape of the so-called second phase of the reform one must fundamentally accept the changes that must be made in the system solutions to give a chance to the process of industrial restructuring which all of us need, but one that lacks the proper climate.

12411

CSO: 2600/467

## EMINENT WRITER CRITICALLY REVIEWS SITUATION IN POLAND

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 Mar 87

[Article by POGLED representative Evgeniy Stanchev: "An Attempt To Talk about Poland in the Language of Poles"]

[2 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] Warsaw—"Where does journalism err when it writes about the processes in your country?" I asked Prof Franciszek Golebski, specialist in relations with the socialist countries. "The cliches," he answered, "the one-sided, sketchy approach to Polish problems." The editor-in-chief of the publication INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS and professor at the Institute of International Questions in Warsaw, Michal Dobroczynski, added, "The Poles, like all peoples, are sensitive on the subject of sovereignty and national dignity. At the same time, there can be no security unless they respect the other fraternal countries. It is difficult to understand the situation in a country from official items of information alone. More facts are needed. We must not think that it is not all right for the socialist countries to speak critically about us. This is dangerous. We must as soon as possible break free of this conflict and welcome everything that deadens dogmatic thinking. The more frankly we talk, the fewer surprises and disillusionments there will be!"

In one form or another I heard such opinions from almost all the Poles I met. Even my most paradoxical question rattled nobody regardless of his rank. I was left with the conviction that everybody welcomed this mode of conversation and thought.

The point of departure from which any account of Poland now must begin is that the government has won the main battle. With force, used when the country was in danger, the socialist state was saved. And this was possible because the majority of Polish society recognized socialism as a supreme value and demonstrated it at the most dramatic moments. The Polish crisis was not a workers' protest against socialism but, first and foremost, disagreement with the distortions of socialism in practice.

Immediately after I wrote the above lines, I realized that they are among the little that I can say confidently--for they are an unquestionable objective fact. Almost everything else that I heard and saw in Poland from the best

informed people in their specialty can be seen as well from some other angle, or be interpreted to a different purpose. Frankly speaking, in much of what I have read and heard about the details of life in this country in recent years (since my visit there during the difficult year of 1982) a similarity can be seen to the descriptions of some unidentified flying object. They all see the identical thing, but the main thing, the essential thing, differs for each one. Ostensibly there is something obviously identical, but each sees it in his own fashion. Such a comparison is valid for Poland, especially for assessments in the area of morale.

There can be no comparison between the tranquillity of today and the tension during those days of 1981 and 1982. Life seethed. In the middle of Warsaw a taxi driver with a Mercedes asked me whether I had dollars if he was to pick me up. At the "Iglopol" Agroindustrial Complex I saw miracles of the creative genius of workers and peasants who, at least in a practical sense, already live communistically. At the same time in the middle of Warsaw, Bulgarian lemon salt (10 stotinkas worth), for example, was being sold privately for 100 zlotys per packet, as well as other goods from all corners of the world that could not come to market officially--at least according to my standards.

But my standards are not always correct for evaluating the realities in Poland. It would be hard, for example, for many to believe that martial law succeeded in reinforcing democracy. But this is a fact, whether outside observers understand it or not.

The 10th Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Congress answered the questions about the policy and methods by which the country would be run in the near future. Moreover, it gave well-grounded and categorical answers, drawn from Polish realities and the state's membership in the socialist community.

#### Agreement and Struggle

The most important principle which the Polish party and state leadership will follow on the path to socialist rebirth is the policy of agreement and struggle.

This policy, already tested in practice, is a realistic program for remedying the harmful consequences of the crisis. At the congress, Jaruzelski himself emphasized that the policy of agreement and struggle affects all strata of society and creates conditions for satisfying the interests of all. And this, for the present, is far more important than the differences that divide them.

Very important (and not solely for Poland) is an assessment of the genesis of the crisis. It indicated that the interests of the different groups and classes in society must (willy-nilly) be taken into account. They are not always antagonistic even though they take the form of conflicts. Moreover, if agreement is to be effective, there must be struggle. Therefore, the two concepts must always be used together. Agreement and struggle is not dogma, but a strategy for unifying all who want to build socialism, and for isolating those who are not thinking about Poland's future.

The agreement-and-struggle line is a complex concept. It is not a political technique, but a strategy for harmonizing what the different strata of the population need. Its basic requirement is the preservation of Poland's constitutional principles, i.e., the building of socialism. But at the same time it is not by any means a nationwide policy--everybody with everybody. It does not apply to the forces that would like to legalize their antigovernmental demands. For this would be against the interests of the working class. Agreement--yes, but on behalf of socialism! Struggle--yes, but on behalf of socialism!

There are quite a lot of paradoxes both in the history and in the modern development of Poland. But experience has shown that the enemy cannot be destroyed by repression alone. Now this will make, and has already made, the agreement-and-struggle line successful. (Two emigré "prime ministers" of Poland have already returned to the country and found employment.) The opposition, which still receives serious support from abroad, is more and more losing the support of society in the broadest sense of the word. Society understands, not from words but from facts, that the part played by the opposition is harmful, that the government will solve the difficult problems better than the opposition because it has political instrumentalities for achieving this goal.

#### Socialist Updating

There is not a political speech, commentary or conversation about Poland that does not mention socialist updating.

This is a political line that came into being at the time of the Ninth Party Congress, a trying time for the PZPR and the country. It means an all-round updating of life in Poland--ideological, political, economic, etc. The socialist, ideological updating means a return to the sources of Marxist-Leninist ideology and a ridding of the party of various theoretical and practical interpolations, of voluntarism and neglect of the objective natural laws operating in the development of society, of opportunism such as a failure opportunely to observe and solve growing difficulties.

Voluntarism in ideological work became possible because Poland began to build a developed socialism before the foundations of socialism had been constructed, because of the erroneous thesis that an ideological and moral integrity had been attained in the country. Socialist updating has as its task to discard this false sense, without, however, permitting a return to dogmatic thinking.

In the political sphere, socialist updating means a return to special emphasis on the person who creates and builds; it means deliberately working to expand socialist democracy in all its forms. In the case of Poland the development of democracy is characterized by several special features--the complex conditions of conflicts and political struggle, the incomplete stage of the building of socialism, which throws discredit on all structures of society.



I realize that what I am writing sounds a little dry and is not properly journalism, but without it much of what one sees and hears in Poland would be incomprehensible.

Member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, Jozef Czyrek, and I talked about these and many other questions. In a frank atmosphere he showed that the party has an excellent realization of the true state of things and has the strength and awareness to solve the problems in the way that is most correct for Poland.

The expansion and development of democracy in Polish society Jozef Czyrek sees mainly through the development of democracy and its expansion in the party. For example, the leadership role of the party and its service role. "Often," he said, "these two concepts are at variance. The 10th Congress declared that the party leads society, but also serves it. The party, first and foremost, must serve the people. The function of the PZPR is to lead, but at the same time it must oppose whatever impedes the development of the country and society. It is not easy to harmonize these two functions."

It is interesting to recount the attitudes and mentality of Polish society in the language of impartial statistics, however relative the statistics' significance may be. Dr Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center, categorically did not want to report figures alone. And probably he has good reason since the task entrusted to him by the government would not be performed as it should be if, side by side with percentages, trends are not visible or nuances cleared up.

#### Confidence in Political Institutions

Confidence in political institutions has been graded by the institute on the basis of a study of how a given institution serves society. The ranking is as follows: the Church, the Army, the Sejm, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the Factory Trade Unions, the PZPR, the Militia, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the Opposition.

It is almost certain that whatever quick conclusions are drawn from this "classification," they will not be a correct illustration of objective truth. Not only because some would like it in precisely in this form while others would not. There is a danger that in graphic form it simply will be hastily assessed as an indicator of the interrelation of forces in Poland. And this will not be the truth. Or, at least, not the whole truth

From any viewpoint, some more figures have to be added to the ranking. To begin with, the reservation must be made that piety and political orientation are by no means one and the same thing.

More than 82 percent of adult Poles are religious. This, to a great extent, explains the attitude towards the church. At the same time, 32.7 percent think that it must not engage in politics, 28.5 percent respond with "All the same, no," while only 7.5 percent believe that the church must engage in politics.



I feel swamped in my detailed notes (augmented daily, moreover, by news from Poland, by dispatches of Bulgarian correspondents in Warsaw, by commentaries of Western journalists). But I cannot rid myself of the depressing professional feeling that I have been saddled with a task exceeding my knowledge and my energies. And why not my moral rights as well. . . ?

If I must say right out whether I can answer any question with conviction and categorically, with my hand on my heart, it will be the question, "How are things now in Poland?" My answer: BETTER than in 1982! And I shall at once back that up with facts.

The national income in 1985 was 15 percent higher than in 1982. The consumption of material goods during these years increased by 9 percent, industrial production by 16 percent, exports by 23 percent, imports by 22 percent.

Figures are figures but, to be sure, they are far from giving the picture. When one talks of consumption, for example, by no means could this mean that everybody enjoys the cited percent. It is no secret that in Poland there are millionaires, whose wealth both in zlotys and in dollars can impress their "colleagues" in the West.

#### Some Comparisons

Whenever anybody tries to tell his impressions of an entire state, he must compare facts and events and the development of processes and trends. Here let me try, albeit briefly and sketchily, to make some comparisons of life in Poland in recent years on the basis of statistical data and some obvious truths.

A third of the Poles do not vote in the elections. According to reliable research, however, over 50 percent support the government. This, on the other hand, does not mean that they act vigorously in defense of all party and government decisions. For example, by and large, those who vote do not support the party, but prefer it to the illegal structures. Moreover, if we speak objectively, even party members themselves vary a good deal in their appraisals, activity and predilections.

There was a time when half of Polish society took a stand against communism. Now this proportion does not exceed 7 percent although some university investigations calculate it at 25 percent. Once more a reservation. The fact that a given person declares himself in a most general sense "resolutely opposed to communism" does not mean that this person will necessarily fight socialism. Things are more complex, far more complex, and there are probably millions of nuances.

There are, for example, individuals, who in Public Opinion Research Institute interviews supported both the party and the opposition. A significant portion of the Poles (approximately around 15 percent) are adherents of political pluralism. These are mainly people who remember past party errors and now want to have "some guarantees" that this period will not be repeated. Over one-fifth of the Poles approve of the illegal structures, mainly because they want the party to be "monitored" and "threatened" by competition in some way,

to be kept on the alert, so as to serve the whole of society with maximum efficiency. Fourteen percent now believe that the party is doing its job well, but the opposition is doing it well too.

This mosaic of views and preferences, at first glance strange to us, must not by itself be regarded as a fait accompli. The traditionally dynamic and critical thinking of the Pole is hard to fit into the standards and framework of somebody's model outside the boundaries of Poland. A large percentage of the people, including many party members, speak out regularly and highly critically, for example, about the administration of the economy. Moreover, nobody dares assert that all party members approve of PZPR activity.

[9 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] Warsaw--At the beginning of the 1970's the Poles were eating well. Everything looked fine then. And actually everything was fine for the moment. The movement towards crisis started in 1976. Mass approval began to give way to dissatisfaction. The need for change was pressing. By the end of the 1970's these attitudes exploded. The beginnings of despair date back to 1981 and martial law. It came about naturally, in a manner of speaking, after the euphoria of easy prosperity and the crisis of 1980-1982.

The psychological drama was painful and for many people the outcomes were poles apart--apathy or aggressiveness. Even though the aggressive persons were a minority, moral standards paled, discipline vanished, crime and rowdiness intensified. This became possible due to the apathetic state of the majority. The term "internal emigration" made its appearance, mainly among the intellectuals. People shut themselves up in circles and little groups of family and friends, thus avoiding politics. Many trade union workers, artists and journalists gave up their occupations.

In 1984-1985 aggressive behavior began to yield to reason, and apathy to animation--to animation, the easiest and most natural form of which was a critical attitude. It proved to be the point of intersection of the two psychological states of society. The economy was the more fertile a topic of dissatisfaction. According to the investigations, in 1985 64 percent of the Poles critically opposed economic policy and practice without hostility towards the government.

There was more thought now about how to find a way out, about what specifically to do in order to move ahead. It may sound strange, but a very important as well as complex time was coming when political differences of opinion would make their appearance. A time in which party responsibility was expected.

The decisions of the 10th Congress showed that the PZPR had the strength for this. It is important now for all to understand whose interests the party will defend, on behalf of whose interests it will conduct its policy, what reforms lie ahead--who will lose and who will gain from them. To be a party member means to be on somebody's side. The PZPR knows on whose side it is. And in every respect it is obvious it will not permit variances to become conflicts again.

The Poles now rank the problems facing their society quite sensibly. The majority consider the most important task to be getting out of the crisis and stabilizing the economy. Next come the domestic situation, world peace and disarmament, the provisioning of the population, working conditions, etc. Church-state relations do not figure among the most important problems.

Even the great question of trade unions seems at first glance to be left to be solved naturally and to the benefit of all. Barely 4.5 percent of the Poles resolutely oppose trade unions in enterprises, while the vast majority--over 72 percent--expect from their trade union primarily fair wages and 96 percent improvement of working conditions. The number of those who do not approve political activity in trade unions in pure form categorically predominates. Of PZPR members, 80 percent are now trade union members. But regardless of political orientation, almost all trade union members oppose trade union leaders holding high posts in the PZPR and government.

A number of documents of the National Trade Union Agreement (merging sectorial and plant federations and organizations with nearly 7 million members) voice worker dissatisfaction because of the relations of party leaders with the private sector. This fact, though seemingly remote from the thoughts I have reported above, are of significance for the topic.

Here let me confess something. From the moment I sat down to write, I have been wondering when and whether to tell at all one of the things that most disturbed me during my meetings and conversations in Poland. Despite all my tolerance, I just could not accommodate in my convictions the fact that a member of the PZPR leadership could own hundreds of decares of land and go to church regularly. I probably am wrong--such are the Polish specifics. But nevertheless I would not be honest if I failed to confess that the questions of idealism and materialism, of the dialectical relationships between necessity and compromise, obviously exceed my capabilities as a journalist. . .

#### Political Stabilization

It has outstripped economic stabilization. Its potential reserves, however, are lessening. For if there is no progress in economic stabilization, this can result in a slowing down or even a halt of political stabilization. They are interrelated by thousands of visible and invisible links.

The PZPR now has 2,130,000 members. Of these, about 8 percent are elderly, and 47.8 percent are workers and peasants. These figures are very significant. In 1985 the party admitted 63,000 persons, and in the first 8 months of 1986 50,000. (In the preceding year in these same 8 months the figure was 38,000.) At the moment, about half of the newcomers in the party are under 30 years of age in spite of the political harm done to the PZPR in the schools during the crisis years. Potential reserves are no doubt large. But, as the miners of Katowice said to me, today whenever there is a party application, it is given more thought than formerly.

It can definitely be said that the PZPR today is not the same as it was in the 1970's; neither is it that of the 1980-1981 period nor even what it was before

the 10th Congress. This fact is due not least to a real endeavor to thoroughly reinterpret the role and tasks of the party in accordance with the decisions of the 10th Congress. "The pro-worker policy of the party," Wojciech Jaruzelski says, "is stronger than it ever was." Following the Seventh PZPR Congress workers were 21 percent of the Central Committee, following the Ninth Congress 36.5 percent, and now they are 40 percent. Despite this, in Jaruzelski's opinion, worker participation is sometimes perfunctory. "Conditions must be created," he says, "for workers actually to feel themselves the vanguard."

Towards the end of February Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered a long speech to a conference of Warsaw party activists, in which he laid particular stress on the lack of keenness and a critical and self-critical attitude in the conduct of such conferences. And not just there, either. "Sometimes," said the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, "we talk about ideology from only one side of our mouth. Dedication to ideology in defense of party positions and socialism is not our strongest aspect. There are so-called '8-hour party members,' who display party-mindedness only while they are at their workplace and then quickly forget about it. Unfortunately there are many such ideological eunuchs. It is time we raise party requirements."

Repeatedly Wojciech Jaruzelski has emphasized that one of the most urgent tasks facing the PZPR is to strengthen the party ties with the peasantry and intelligentsia. And especially to enlist young people in party work.

#### Youth

Some young people do not accept the PZPR as a revolutionary force--they believe it is dogmatic and a brake on dynamism and progress. That is to say, they do not see the party as a force championing anything new. Naturally, the leaders believe these assessments are wrong or "perhaps wrong." But the Central Committee must take them into account, at the same time striving for constant updating.

According to the data of the Public Opinion Research Center, politics interest only 20 percent of young people between the ages of 17 and 19. (Over 40 percent of the Poles as a whole are uninterested in politics.) Research shows that the critical assessments of young people are nothing out of the way--in broad outlines such is the world tradition and Poland is no exception.

Especially critical (chiefly on economic subjects) are people in their late twenties--the group of society born and reared during prosperity, who married and raised their children under conditions of inflation and crisis. This, however, by no means automatically signifies that this age group supports the opposition--they simply have their own interests and views. The PZPR calmly accepts their critical attitude.

More than 66 percent of young people are believers and go regularly to church. Nearly 23 percent are believers and go to church, but irregularly. Barely 2.4 percent are nonbelievers and do not go. (There is also a percentage of the population who are nonbelievers but go. Among intellectuals, they are 2.7 percent.)



## Church

Far back before 1981 the church began to invite more and more persistently and persuasively the widest circles of society. Apart from believers, outright enemies of the government, the offended, dissatisfied, the unrecognized, and even former Marxists who had not found their place were welcomed. Many churches (and there are such even now, though fewer) became something like clubs where people of art gathered.

On the Sunday before I left for Bulgaria, I entered a Warsaw church. It was early and there were not many people yet, but inside two photographic exhibitions had been set up, and near the door was an invitation to a concert in the evening and to a showing of the film "Ben Hur."

Thus benefits of every kind and extent, intellectual activity and tolerance, the organization of trips and meetings abroad, and a number of like initiatives besides turned churches for a long period of time into centers of seething cultural life. The concerts, exhibits, study groups, celebrations, lectures, and services in most instances had nothing to do with God, but at the same time the organized cultural activity had a definite ideological bias.

At the beginning of the year after I had already returned from Poland, the weekly POLITYKA published an article by Jerzy Wysocki about the revenues of the Catholic Church in the country. According to the well-known researcher of this subject, the average income of a priest is nearly 2 million zlotys annually, i.e., over 165,000 monthly. Given an annual wage for the country of 21,000 zlotys, a comparison is not difficult.

The following facts indicate the financial resources of the church as an institution: in the first few years after the war 50 churches were built annually; in the next 20 years an average of 93 per year. Moreover, from 1978 on, 150 churches were expanded and another 150 chapels built or expanded. POLITYKA calculated in final analysis that with all the revenues and donations the church receives annually its income is about 30.8 billion zlotys.

The reaction of the Krakow Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY was interesting. On 15 February it published a detailed (something like a) reply to the newspaper POLITYKA. "The greater the taxes on the church, the greater the indirect tax levied on believers," wrote the weekly, meaning the expenditures of Poles who provide the church's basic revenues in the form of donations. The author of the article did not acknowledge as correct the data cited by POLITYKA on priests' personal income (or on church revenues in general), but at the same time did not cite a single figure giving an inkling of the truth. Moreover, he defended the church's claim to receive the status of a public organization, which would exempt it from taxes, duties and other expenses.

For a long time now Cardinal Glemp has forbidden civil lecturers to lecture in churches, and in general the activity mentioned above has visibly declined everywhere. The church is perceptibly swinging towards isolation of the extremists and a return to its normal activity.



According to an informed person, at the moment out of 20,000 priests hardly 200 are conducting an active political struggle. Five percent of these are active, but only 1 percent can be regarded as political leaders. Another—I don't know whether to call him a pessimist or a realist—maintains that there are far more churchmen who are active politically. Opinion is almost unanimous, however, that the difference between the church activity of years past and now is significant. Church leaders now declare that they approve the agreements although practice is still a far cry from words.

Beginning last year the government introduced into the schools a new subject—religious history. The church, naturally, does not approve this gesture, asserting that such education is harmful. Actually, the new subject will enable young people to have a more modern view and approach and will teach them tolerance for religion. The socialist state guarantees freedom of religion, but defends the rights of all, both believers and atheists. Which is in fact a normal implementation of Poland's constitutional principles.

[16 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] Warsaw—Officially there are two platforms and approaches to the church. One is the state-church relationship (understood as an institution), the other is the church-state relationship (understood as a community of people). It is important to maintain good relations with the church as a community. Matters are proceeding well in this direction. More complex are relations with the leadership of the church as an institution. Here ideological conflicts are natural and can hardly ever decrease to such an extent that they are not an adverse factor in the solution of national problems.

As early as the Ninth PZPR Congress it was placed on record that Catholics can be party members. There was even a proposal to make this part of the PZPR statute. The 10th Congress did not touch on this question, but in practice the party believes that religious new members who are admitted can be familiarized with Marxist views and be reeducated. It suffices if they are not clerical politicians. If they support party policy, religiousness is no problem. There is no other approach since 50 percent of the workers are believers. These are Polish realities.

"It is not important where a person comes from—what is important is that he wants to talk with us." Henryk Jablonski said these words on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the institution of martial law. Socialism, in his opinion, can develop rightly only under democratic conditions, but Polish leadership "still has to learn socialist democracy." I think that in some respects the democratic character of Polish leadership is even surprising. At least for me.

#### Pope's Third Visit

There have been many advance commentaries on the occasion of the Pope's third visit to Poland. Preparations have been under way for a long time. During his visit in Italy at the beginning of January Wojciech Jaruzelski had a meeting with the Pope in the Vatican for a conversation privately, and officially invited John Paul II to visit his native land once more.

The Polish hierarchy for its part has invited the Pope to open a religious congress which will be the largest council of Catholics in the country since the war. The 1-week itinerary proposed by the church (8-14 June) includes several cities, among them Warsaw, Czesztochowa, Krakow and Gdansk. All points of the tour are providing for religious services, meetings of Catholics, celebrations of the 200th anniversary of the Southeastern Diocese, etc.

Suggestions regarding the effect of the visit include all kinds of nuances, and not without good reason. Such a visit can mark a new and favorable stage in state-church relations. But, on the other hand, it might prompt some kind of watchwords to create tensions through approval of the opposition's philosophy and demands. Some predict that the Pope's visit almost certainly will result in a new outbreak of political disturbances. The favorable atmosphere following the amnesty did not fall in with the intentions of the enemies of stabilization. In any event, it is sure that specific circles, not without help from abroad, will try to disturb the peace, taking advantage of the Holy Father's visit.

### Opposition

There was a time when the opposition was able to get tens of thousands out into the street, organize strikes and seriously disturb public order. This time is now long gone. That is why the amnesty decision was made. Repressive measures could not do the job for long. It was more fruitful to isolate the enemy. Today he is not in a position to mount significant campaigns--his capabilities have been reduced to speeches and appeals. The amnesty isolated the enemy intellectually--showed that he is weak. The released 1200 "perpetrators of noncriminal offenses" are no longer martyrs, they have become ordinary people, and bad-mouthing on the subject of morality is more difficult for domestic and foreign critics. The amnesty has facilitated national rapprochement; the absence of political prisoners has improved Poland's image abroad, too.

What has happened to the antisocialist forces? The result was a polarization--some decided that there were both reasons and opportunities for cooperating, that there must not be an illegal struggle. Others preferred to make a counterattack in order to block the favorable processes. Walesa set up a provisional council of extremist forces and appealed to others to follow him. It did not happen as the former leader wishes even though here and there they followed him. But even in the West this step did not have the expected success.

Speaking of the amnesty's results, member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of internal affairs, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, said that, according to the experience with the amnesties so far, "about 1 percent of the amnestied persons are taking the path of recidivism, the rest view realistically the changes taking place in the country." In his opinion, however, the internal situation "still is not completely devoid of threats." A number of opposition leaders are reviving their old conceptions. "We will systematically nip in the bud all threats to our system," General Kiszczak declared.

The Polish security service has already said many times that it is well acquainted with the enemy's activity and his methods, and can cope effectively with the threats. Which, to be sure, does not automatically mean that peace and internal order have reached that state which Polish society as a whole desires. The pirate broadcasts of illegal radio stations, the printing of hostile leaflets, the setting up of various dissident groups, "provisional committees" and "councils," as well as various greater or lesser provocations will probably continue for a time yet and will keep public order in tension.

According to Professor Bogнар, director of the Political Science Center at the Institute of Social Sciences in Warsaw, the opposition is now divided in two. One half resolutely opposes socialism as a social system. The other part opposes the government within the framework of a socialist state. (A highly placed leader startled me by saying quite seriously that the party was supposed to head up the second group!)

The reasonable, tactful approach towards people with moral doubts, used formerly successfully by the opposition, appears practical for the Polish realities. It takes the form, in a nutshell, of creating conditions for the majority to participate in decision making at all levels. This would be democratic and fruitful from both a political and a psychological viewpoint. Everybody remembers that formerly "Solidarity" was a dictator that, without appeal, excluded communists from the government of Poland.

To those who abuse the government's good will Jaruzelski declared at a conference in Zielona Gora, "Enough of this playing at hide-and-seek. Whoever plans on abusing the magnanimous act (Editor's note: the amnesty), on setting up some antigovernmental groups, on making one attempt after another to create anarchy in the country should be aware that we are prepared for this, and the law cannot be stretched like a balloon."

#### Drop-Outs

A Western journalist wrote about the atmosphere in Poland, "The shock has been overcome, but the paralysis remains." This, to be sure, is far-fetched, but there are more than a few who, from the sidelines, view the important problems facing our government with disdainful indifference or barefaced cynicism. The behavior that is propagated among some young people under the slogan of "Count me out!" not only does not help, it is obstructive. From this philosophy to alcoholism, drug addiction and crime is a short step.

The militia has registered more than 17,000 drug addicts. Medical calculations indicate that 100,000 persons are completely drug-dependent, while about 250,000 are threatened by this prospect. Moreover, the average age is declining.

Despite the law adopted in 1982 restricting the use of alcohol, consumption of it is growing. Last year the Poles spent on drink 770 billion zlotys and \$114 million (from the foreign-exchange stores). These figures do not include homemade alcohol, which is calculated at about 20 percent of government alcohol. Thirty-five percent of the hospital beds in the country are occupied by

people who have fallen ill as a result of the systematic abuse of alcoholic liquors. More than 13 billion zlotys are targeted this year to combat alcoholism.

If anybody sat down to write about Poland, guided only by his notes from the luxury Warsaw hotels with the (chendzhadzhite) and beauties with feelings (po vtoro napravlenie) [literally, in a second direction], or by his notes from the free market or youth discotheques, naturally he would not be objective. Neither the Champs Elysees nor Broadway nor Piccadilly mirror a given people. The truth about them will be where they make their living. Laboring Poland can be seen in coal. It is not just a fuel and an item on the export list.

### Coal Is Politics

At the Wujek coal mine 6000 miners annually dig 2.5 million tons of coal. Its galleries are exactly under the city of Katowice--perhaps ecologically the most dispiriting city I have ever been in. And since, according to the specialists, there are still millions of tons of reserves, I simply cannot imagine how these people will live in the future. (One million tons of coal dust and dust from the metallurgical plants fall annually on the region.) Ten percent of the Poles live in the province, which is 2 percent of the territory of Poland. They produce 99 percent of the coal, 100 percent of the zinc, lead and silver, 54 percent of the steel and [figure illegible] percent of the electric power--or, in short, 20 percent of what the country produces.

Jan Zielinski, secretary of the provincial PZPR in Katowice, not only took pleasure in reciting large figures, but was startled himself to hear them. In the Katowice region there are 68 mines, from which 188 million tons of anthracite and coking coal were extracted last year. Our hosts dictated many details with the placidity of people producing an excellent-quality export commodity for years ahead. And the praises were completely justified--they work seriously. They passed over in silence only the high costs per ton of coal (something I learned elsewhere), but they can be forgiven this. They so want peace to set in in the mines and the work to proceed in an even flow and in a guaranteed manner.

At the beginning of the 1980's one of the first strikes occurred here. In 1981 only 120 party members remained.

Jan Mirski, first secretary of the office party committee at the Wujek mine, recalled those times--not entirely without agitation, however jovial he pretended to be--when under the psychosis created by "Solidarity" the miners would throw him from a 40- to 50-meter tower to bring out the coal. He got off with a whole skin only by crashing against a stepladder. . . . On 16 December 1981 seven persons died here. There is now a cross at this site in memory of those killed. And the flowers that lie at its base are a daily reminder that the events are not forgotten--by either side. The miners who are party members number 1000 and there are annually about 70 new ones.



## Authentic Worker in Party Leadership

I confess, one of the most powerful experiences I had during this mission in Poland was my meeting with the authentic worker in the party leadership, as his colleagues called him. Zygmunt (Muranski) is a 34-year-old miner--member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee. "I have an opportunity to tell the Party Central Committee what the workers are thinking," he said. "The bureau cannot see many."

Zygmunt is neither the first nor the only worker to come into the Political Bureau straight from production. The proportion of them is more than 55 percent.

"Comrade (Muranski), do you go down into the mine? You are a miner, aren't you?," I asked.

"Always, when I have a chance."

(Muranski) started work in 1969 at the (Ridultovi) mine. In 2 years he became a party member and graduated from evening technical school. He was elected a member of the Political Bureau at the 10th Party Congress. Naturally his colleagues are proud of him. All the more so because he has already performed a number of missions for them. (Muranski) is head of the Central Committee's commission on raw materials and energy.

"How do you participate from here in the sessions of the Political Bureau?"

"I travel regularly to Warsaw. Up until recently I went in my own Fiat 126, but it is slow. They gave me a Polonaise--I drive it myself. Otherwise I return in the evening--my wife is young. And the kids know me--have no fear . . ."

Suddenly the affable young man (I don't feel comfortable writing lad) excused himself because he had an important meeting and left. Ill-bred as it was, I could not refrain; I went to the window and pulled back the curtain to see him leaving. Zygmunt took his seat behind the wheel of a white Polonaise and energetically took off about his own affairs.

[23 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] Warsaw--I watched the Polonaise of the young miner-Political Bureau member receding into the distance and thought to myself that to the extent that I have impressions (who can have the self-assurance that he understands the Poles?) of this country, the well-known cult of the "chief"--whether it be director, chief engineer or minister--is traditionally lacking. And Zygmunt (Muranski's) words continued to ring in my ears, "We must eliminate all subjective errors as quickly as possible. There are a lot of these and objective errors too, but subjective errors require no investment except moral strength. We are so strong that we can move mountains. Unfortunately, we often falter at little hills."

The province of Slonsk has always been a party base with its numerous working class. "Solidarity" activists understood that whoever won over Slonsk thereby won over all Poland. The local people experienced many difficult moments at the beginning of the 1980's. It is no accident either that the military were stricter here than in other regions of the country. Adventures could not be permitted in Slonsk--Poland's coal had to be dug.

Since 1982 there has not been a single strike, or a single arrest. The workers themselves organized their own groups to counteract the enemy. Which, to be sure, does not mean that even after the lifting of martial law everything went along swimmingly, especially now after the amnesty when some "Solidarity" activists came back to the province. But the workers were ready to resist them. The desire for tranquillity in the province was responsibility for the interests of the whole of Poland. In Slonsk there would be tranquillity, whatever happened.

There is one question which many people ask, but few venture to answer confidently. This is the problem whether Poland can be stabilized economically by the end of the century.

The specialists see production returning to the 1980 level by 1990. At that time again the crisis is supposed to be overcome and national income to reach the level of the beginning of the 1980's. Exports are still far from what is desired, mainly due to the U.S. attitude towards Poland. New capital investment is needed. This means that the next 2 years will be painful, not only economically, but also socially and politically. This is due in great measure to the fact that the government decided not to terminate the contracts entered into previously. Many of the initiatives of that time will hardly begin to be paid for until 1988, and in power supply not until 1990-1991. Until then, when a time for new capital investment and for a "salutary political game" (as they say here) comes, a kind of economic coercion will have to continue. I mean strict observance of wage and price policy during the painful years ahead. The Poles understand this well, however much they may dislike it. But there will not be another chance for more accelerated development of the economy before the end of the century. (Parenthetically, the fact is that the only accomplished national economic plan in Poland up to now is the first 2-year plan after the war.)

The 10th PZPR Congress categorically set the target of accelerating the stabilization process in the economy as well. The basic motive force in this direction is economic reform, the first phase of which can be said to have passed successfully. It began back in the difficult year of 1981 when state farms were shifting over to self-financing. Application of the reform began in some enterprises also 2 years later.

#### The Three "S's"

When one speaks of the economic reform mechanism, the three "S's" are mentioned. This means "samostoyatel'nost" (independence), "samofinansiraniye" (self-financing) and "samoupravleniye" (self-administration)--three principles, the observance of which would assure the necessary results. The details underlying these

principles are many, and one can write lengthily and widely on this subject. Its gist, however, is wider and more active worker participation in the administration of the economy, a changeover to profit-and-loss accounting on one's own, and introduction of wide areas of jurisdiction of workers' councils and of the socialist principle in the administration of the economy. Every plan for socioeconomic development, after being chosen by the Sejm from several alternatives and before being approved by the government, is to be discussed by the entire public.

The reform puts an end to the growth of the bureaucratic machinery and brings to the forefront the initiative, awareness and creativity of workers' collectives.

To be sure, thus stated, everything appears both simple and a little sketchy. Nevertheless, matters are not easy because such an initiative is not a one-time act, but a long and complex process, affected by many and important factors, both subjective and objective. Moreover, time is needed to appraise the results correctly. But somehow or other, the first stage can be considered already passed, and Poland has entered upon the second with experience--both in the weaknesses and in the favorable factors. Restructuring of both the banking and the entire financial system of the country is envisaged--efficiency and improvement in the organization of decision making and productivity are being made into a fetish.

#### Good Traditions and Painful Experience

Workers' trade union associations have existed in Poland for 90 years. During these years there have been both good traditions and painful experience.

The Miners' Trade Union Federation, which I visited, unites nearly half a million people. It was among the miners in Slonsk that the first "new structure" was set up after 1982. Now nobody here asks where the new members come from. They ask only whether you want to help.

"Forgive me," I asked the people I talked to, "if my question is tactless, but why did 'Solidarity' have 10 million members, and you have 6.5 million?"

Rajmunt (Morits), chairman of the Miners' Trade Union Federation and member of the NSPS [not further identified; possibly, National Council of Trade Unions], answered me. "First, nobody is certain of the 10 million. They said so, but it's not recorded. In my enterprises, for example, there were fewer than claimed. Why are we 6 million? The new trade unions for the present include about 30 percent of the workers. Hostile propaganda has emphasized that they were reds. And they're right, they are! Can we take in 100 percent? No. Why? In our country there are enemies of socialism. But we don't need everybody either. I personally consider 10 percent to be enemies; 2 percent, resolute opposition. Between 60 and 70 percent are waiting for us to persuade and organize them. The number of our members is increasing."

"Do former 'Solidarity' workers take part in the leadership of the new trade unions? Are you making use of the experience of some of them who are honest and accept present party and government policy?"

"Yes, they are participating. We have one who had formerly signed the agreement, and now he is even chairman."

I was left with the impression that in filling the ranks and increasing the number of members of the new trade unions there is no question of an artificial contest with recollections of the past. Something that surprised me, however, was the fact that not all party members must or feel themselves obligated to join the new trade unions. At least 10 percent of PZPR members are not in their ranks. Even in the case of the miners.

Formerly trade union leaders were appointed from the top down. Now it is the reverse way--to be a trade union leader at a higher level one must be elected from below. Moreover, both the old trade unions and "Solidarity" were centralized in maximum measure--decisions at the top were in fact orders directed downwards. The Ninth Congress in its time said in its documents that decision making must be a common task. In this way, trade unions will have a real control function over all big questions.

Specialists are of the opinion that the more and greater opportunities the workers have for public demands, in other words, the more genuine the self-realization of the working class's potential is, the more opportunities for peaceful and useful work the trade unions will have.

As early as the beginning of the 1980's, under the pressure of public opinion the Pole's working time was appreciably reduced. Today he works 180 hours less than 15 years ago. The 42-hour work week now is, in the main, within the limits of average European standards. But in a number of countries more advanced than Poland, not only more but also better work is done. To make matters worse, an average of about 2 million Poles change their place of employment annually. Turnover among young people is a serious question--some "try out" new workplaces several times a year.

Out of 36 million Poles, 20 million are employed. To my surprise, but perhaps I should not have been surprised, an informed professor said that Poland lacks sufficient labor traditions, that there are quite a lot of people who are first-generation workers. I simply did not understand why this situation had come about, but I am sure it is a serious obstacle to economic development. It is no accident that in all public opinion polls better organization of labor and the social mechanisms is indicated as one of the main problems. Something I think very important for this country is a change both in the mentality of the people and their attitude towards labor--at least a change in attitude towards the results of it. . .

#### The "Iglopol" Phenomenon

I saw one of the economic miracles of present-day Poland--the "Iglopol" phenomenon.

For many reasons it is impossible to collectivize all the land in Poland. Conditions for this are needed, but there obviously have been delays in creating them there.



In recent years agriculture has met the needs of society with the exception of meat. That is what is said officially. I think that the meat question is not all that alarming, but is more of a traditional pronouncement. The abundance in the free market indicates that there is meat. The question why everything is not unrestricted is a different matter.

As many of the people I talked to said, the question for the party now is not who owns the land, but who cultivates it, and how. In their opinion, the process of collectivization will take place naturally. What is alluring is the thought that at a cooperative one works a bureaucratic 8 hours. . .

The "Iglopol" phenomenon is an agroindustrial combine in the city of Debica. It merits separate exhaustive reporting. In a word, I was left with an impression of something extremely interesting both as economics and as financing, as an approach to investment and the search for markets, as an attitude of philosophical affiliation of the workers there with their creation.

The "Iglopol" Agroindustrial Combine operates on the principle of profit-and-loss accounting and has 10 agroindustrial enterprises, a machine-tractor station, 7 cold storage plants, 54 sections for agricultural and auxiliary products, 6 trading centers with a network of 88 stores and 37 delicatessens, a huge enterprise in the city of Debica that produces specialized vehicles with isothermal bodies, machines and agricultural implements and . . . what have you? Production amounts to 42 billion zlotys, with a profit of not less than 1.2 billion. Exports alone are over 2 billion--to the East and to the West.

How does this happen? With intelligent leadership, a sympathetic attitude on the part of the government, and workers satisfied with their work and their life. And how could they not be satisfied? For an apartment the wait is no more than a year. And until then they live rent-free in the agroindustrial combine's hotel. In addition to this hotel (four-star), the agroindustrial combine has built for its members a beautiful housing complex (with a garage for every other family), a covered skating rink, swimming pool, a 2500-seat concert hall, a vacation resort near the city with sports equipment and restaurants. And now, in the middle of the lake in this complex, they will even build an artificial island for lovers. . .

"Iglopol" produces agricultural output and meat, ice cream and juices, canned goods and frozen fruits and vegetables, refrigerator trucks, and even equipment for field aircraft. Depending on the season and its requirements, workers go into the field, and peasants into the industrial plant. There are no idle periods here, hence no wasted time either.

Stanislaw Podgorski, deputy director of the "Iglopol" Combine, boasts with good reason, "Our workforce is integrated and proud to work at the combine. We have succeeded in creating in every worker a mental tie with the enterprise, a sense of 'Homo iglopolus.'"

Not everybody is able to make a close-knit family out of 15,000 Poles.

In fact, this is one of the reasons for talking of "Iglopol" as something special. There is nothing like it anywhere else. Hardly anybody can, without any effort, take the prescription and apply it to his province. Due to the success of this--obviously demonstration--agroindustrial complex, its director has been appointed a deputy minister. Perhaps this will enable the phenomenon to become widespread practice throughout Poland.

[30 Mar 87 p 6]

[Text] Warsaw--Despite all the weaknesses, crises and complaints, despite the loans and deficit, the standard of the Pole is not falling. Moreover, the PZPR decisions are that it should increase evenly. To be sure, given the present economic situation a radical leap upwards is unthinkable. More important than any other viewpoint now is that there should be a steady progression towards an equalization of the resources of all strata of society. Which is a difficult matter--last year the income of workers in the public sector increased 15 percent, in agriculture 18 percent, and in the private sector a whole 40 percent. The difference between the income of the different social groups increased. I cannot imagine (and not just I alone) how the trade unions will respond if, in an attempt to limit inflation, wages are frozen. They have already threatened strikes if the plan to raise prices is implemented.

"The present economic policy," the previously cited director of the Public Opinion Research Institute, Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, writes in the party weekly POLITYKA, "resembles an automobile moving with the hand brake set. The Polish automobile consumes a great deal of fuel, moves slowly and heats up dangerously. We fear risks and therefore mark time 'safely.'"

This article sounded alarming to me at the moment I had already written so many pages about Poland. The latest assessment of the economic realities on the part of public opinion is not optimistic. To make matters worse, the Poles (53 percent of those interrogated) place the blame on the government. State authority can hardly be tranquil in a country where 37 percent of the interrogated secondary school graduates assert that "there are no prospects for the younger generation," and 90 percent of the young people want to emigrate abroad in order to live better. Obviously there is space here only for ruthless realism. Something which is very characteristic of the present Polish leadership.

The present long-term economic policy envisages a significant reduction in the subsidies mainly for the prices of power, fuel and raw materials. Consequently, a price correction and a guaranteeing of the profitability of the economic activity of enterprises will ensue. In the opinion of Minister of Finance Bazyli Samojlik, the price rise this year will not exceed 14 percent. The percentage will be higher only in the case of cigarettes and alcohol.

I visited the General Swerczewski Precision Instrument Factory. A large factory, imposing, with exports to 66 countries. The director, Engr Marek Modziwski, recounted interesting things about the organization of labor, high wages, the piecework system of payment, self-administration, and the work commission elected by secret voting that makes decisions on all questions affecting the workers and their factory. I saw also the really impressive

instruments produced there. I saw costly and ultracostly Western machines worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. The management and the workers indeed have something to be proud of.

I understood (and this after I did special questioning) that all these millions worth of resources are used on only one shift. The rest of the time they age quietly and pointlessly.

During the autumn last year when the zloty was devalued, it was said that this was the last such step and that the introduction of a floating zloty exchange rate was impending. As of 1 February it was devalued once more by 17.4 percent as against the transfer ruble. The exchange rate is now 115 zlotys to the ruble and 240 zlotys to the dollar. The purpose of the change in the exchange rate was to raise the profitability of exports, especially to the capitalist countries, the plan for which was not accomplished last year.

The fight against inflation is difficult in Poland where prices double every 5 years, and wages every 3-4. Even without this, many believe that minimum wages (raised recently from 5400 to 7000 zlotys) should be at least 10,000. According to the economic commission of the National Trade Union Agreement, the per-capita social minimum averages around 10,000 zlotys, while around 20 percent of the families of workers and about 40 percent of pensioners do not achieve it.

#### Debts

The most frightful economic problem is the foreign debt. Last year it increased by \$4.2 billion (due mainly to nonfulfillment of planned exports in a second direction), and now amounts to \$33.5 billion to the capitalist countries and 6.5 billion rubles to the socialist countries.

The president of the Polish National Bank Wladyslaw Baka declared with merciless brevity and accuracy that the debt to the capitalist countries equals 40 percent of the national income and is five times as large as foreign exchange revenues from annual exports in a second direction.

The last time Poland paid the installments completely on the liquidation of its debts to the West was in 1980. For this purpose the country was then obliged to appropriate 96 percent of the receipts from its exports. The next year the amount of the installments already exceeded export revenues.

"If Poland was an industrial corporation," a report of experts from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development wrote, "it would declare bankruptcy." Poland has not managed to pay even the interest on its debts although it allots quite a large percent of the foreign exchange received from exports for this heavy burden. As a result of the postponements, the amount which will have to be paid in the future is increasing--this year it will become 4.1 billion. The maximum will be paid after 1990. In 1996 the amount will exceed 20 billion.

The sole way of solving the problem (other than postponements) is to double exports in convertible foreign exchange. But this is impossible either now

or in the foreseeable future. Moreover, since 1985 exports in a second direction have declined. Given this situation, if imports remain unchanged, in 1995 Poland's debt will reach \$60 billion, and its total exports will cover only half of the frightful installments for principal payments and interest.

The question of the debts and ways of solving it can be much and complexly discussed from various viewpoints. Both the Poles and their creditors are working on various alternatives. Commentaries and hopes recently induced rescission of the American sanctions against Poland, instituted after the declaration of martial law at the end of 1981. Washington represented this fact as a gesture of good will towards Warsaw, but thought to itself that the creditors would gain no less from it, for it also opened up a new stage of economic relations between Poland and the United States. The sanctions cost the Poles \$15 billion. . .

#### Poland-United States

The visit of U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead at the beginning of February started with his statement that there is evident "a process of improvement in the relations between the two governments." After which he met with Prime Minister Messner, with General Jaruzelski, with a group of "opposition activists" headed by Lech Walesa, and with Cardinal Glemp and paid his respects at the grave of the priest Popeluszko. The mayor of New York, Edward Koch, also talked with Walesa in Gdansk some days before this, comparing him with Mahatma Gandhi and inviting him to visit the United States. Probably other highly placed Western politicians and statesmen also see the improvement of relations with Poland in this way.

In the opinion of Prof Longin Pastuszek, with whom I talked at the Institute of International Questions, the relations of socialist Poland with the United States have traditionally always been good—at least until the time of the crisis. The participation in the American War of Independence is remembered. About 10 million Poles still live there. Most of their organizations, to be sure, are anticommunist, but there are many as well that would like uninterrupted ties with the land of their forebears. And I do not mean solely visits and excursions. In Poland there are more than 100 firms belonging to Poles living in the United States. According to Professor Pastuszek, both countries have many interests in common—scientific, economic and also political.

"Poland and the United States are countries which need each other," writes ZYCIE WARSZAWY. Surely this is so, but it is still thought that one needs the other more.

The rescission of the American sanctions is doubtless an important, but to a great extent formal, step unless it results in some concrete solutions of a financial, economic and credit character. The long-interrupted relations might also be resuscitated by a possible elevation in the rank of the American diplomatic representation to the level of ambassador.

There are grounds for speaking of traditionally good relations between the two countries, but according to the statistics for the past 50 years there are



51 instances of restrictions on Poland. Of these, 22 are on the part of the United States. In the past 8 years, out of 35 restrictions 24 were Washington's.

### Emigration

More than 15 million Poles live abroad--this fact is of significance not only demographically, but also politically and economically.

Since the time of the anarchy at the beginning of the 1980's, about 200,000 Poles have remained in the West. The government is gratified by the absence of some. Even in the PZPR Central Committee I was told that they liked the approach of Cuba, which rid itself in one swoop of its enemies and criminals. They naturally regret the others.

More than a quarter of Polish citizens have a family member living abroad. This is a very significant fact that escapes the attention of observers.

The majority go abroad for financial reasons. A small portion of the émigrés are engaged in political activity. Most hope by working and saving money to return. And why not? "Work a little, complain a lot, and don't be afraid of socialism!"--this has been the slogan of more than a few who, with their typical acumen, understood that it is advantageous to earn under capitalism, but to spend under socialism.

For the tourist who happens to be in Warsaw for a week, it would not be an error if he preserved only the recollection of the elegant Polish lady behind the counter of her cozy little shop where she sells things sent her by her uncle in Canada or some other rich Western country. It is easy and pleasant to live that way without any political concerns about the state of the larger economy.

From 1985 up to now exit visas for socialist countries have been denied to only 1 percent of the applicants, and for Western countries to 4 percent. Three and a half million have traveled to our countries and nearly a million to Western countries, respectively. In the event of a visa denial the authorities give a reasoned explanation. Every Pole has a right to appeal any administrative decision to the Supreme Administrative Court. (Thus far it has granted about 60 percent of citizens' complaints.)

At a hotel one cannot help being impressed with how clear the Poles are about the laws. And how they adhere to their observance. Especially the official authorities. This is due not least to the role of the press, to its openness and daring in raising controversial questions.

I talked with three colleagues--Bogdan Jachacz, PAP [Polish Press Agency] president; Jerzy Bielecki, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU; and Lech Wielunski, chairman of the Qualifications Committee of the Union of Polish Journalists. Jachacz formulated the three basic requirements for journalism thus: we must speak the truth about the party and its activity, give speedy and accurate information, and this information must be frank and open.

## Press

The traditions of Polish journalism are ancient. The first newspaper was published in Krakow as far back as 1661. And the Union of Journalists began to take shape as far back as 200 years ago. . .

The role of the Polish press now is important and crucial--more so, it seems to me, than elsewhere. About 3000 periodicals are published in the country, of which about 800 are conventional. The rest are scientific, youth publications, pamphlets, bulletins. Of these, the workers' press cooperative publishes 250. Also engaged in publishing activity are two parties in addition to the PZPR, the evangelicals, Protestants and Greek Orthodox.

The Catholic Church has about 60 publications, of which the best known is the popular weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, published in Krakow. The highest church leaders write in its four pages.

All newspapers, including the party organ TRYBUNA LUDU, are subject to monitoring according to the press law. Not a single line can be printed nor a minute be broadcast on radio or television unless the text has passed through control. This actually is official censorship, with the existence and activity of the specialized agency for this purpose--the Main Control Administration--written into the country's constitution.

Poland also has an illegal opposition press but it seems nobody knows the number of its publications, which for the most part are irregular, of small format and press run. At any rate, they are fewer in number than Radio Free Europe asserts and are declining with every passing day.

The religious newspapers do not write openly about economics and politics. Which, to be sure, does not mean that they support party policy. But the social questions that they take up often are not far from frank political thinking. Despite this, it suffices that they do not attack the government, the laws and the international policy of the party. The Main Control Administration authorizes their publication.

In freer form the 10th PZPR Congress required party journalism to oppose social ills. Opposition of this kind is officially encouraged.

To be sure, not everything in the Polish press is rosy. Behind an ostensibly legal thesis at a given moment there may lie hidden a harmful subject. "We will strike a bargain with the devil as long as he recognizes our constitutional principles," declared Jerzy Bielecki, and in these words I saw once more an explanation of many (not just journalistic) questions that I collected in Poland.

Nobody can dispute on the pages of a newspaper the leading role of the party or divulge state or military secrets. But in order to quash a given article, the censor must adduce grounds. Otherwise the newspaper can bring suit against the censor. . . There is also a commission that defends journalists

against the decisions of their editors-in-chief. And often the chiefs of editorial boards themselves stand before it, too, to defend themselves against their subordinates. . . An interesting job.

Occasionally in Sofia I have yearned to have such a body in our country which would ponder, instead of me, what is possible and what is not. As I was writing these lines, I was pondering such a topic.

To inspire confidence, I recall a meeting at the PZPR Central Committee. Here is what Political Bureau member Jozef Czyrek said at the end of our conversation: "I have one request. Life in Poland is complex; this is a commonplace. Even we ourselves often do not understand everything—otherwise we would not make so many mistakes. In what we do there is much that is fine. But we also have many problems that still await their solution. We shall be grateful if you tell us whatever is not right that does not involve our principles. And we must give thought to some new forms of information for our friendly countries. Often we do not write about bad things involving a comrade because it will hurt him. Or we are afraid that something will be a bad example for others. Information must be complete—both in favorable assessments and in critical ones. There must be a sincere desire to help in the struggle to seek what is good and right. We must not be afraid. This would bring our peoples closer together, for our problems are also common problems. We must tell them to each other."

Then Jozef Czyrek thanked me for my attention, kissed the hand of my 20-some-year old interpretress and left.

The Pole remains a Pole.

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## POZSGAY URGES NATIONAL PRIDE, SACRIFICE FOR FUTURE

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 Mar 87 p 3

[Report on speech by Imre Pozsgay, General Secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, at a commemorative rally in front of the National Museum: "'Our Wishes Can Be Realized on the Basis of National Consensus;' Tens of Thousands Celebrated March 15 around the Country"]

[Text] Marking the beginning of the program series of the Revolutionary Youth Days, several hundreds of people had gathered around Petofi's statue on Sunday morning to pay their respects to the revolutionary struggle of our collectively remembered heroes by laying flowers at the pedestal of the memorial. In keeping with the tradition, after the bell of the University church had struck 9:30 am they assembled and--with the accompaniment of a military band--sang the National Anthem together. This was followed by a recitation by the actor Bela Timar of Petofi's poem, entitled "To the Poets of the 19th Century," after which there was a wreath-laying ceremony. Subsequently, the representatives of our party, social and mass organizations laid flowers of respect and commemoration at the pedestal of the memorial.

At 11 am, a festive mass rally began in the front garden of the National Museum. As far as the eye could see, thousands and thousands gathered on Muzeum boulevard--which had been cordoned off from traffic--peacefully joining hands to remember the events of 139 years ago. Also present at the commemoration were such prominent personalities of our social and cultural life as Miklos Ovari, member of the MSZMP Politburo and CC Secretary, and Csaba Hamori, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the KISZ CC.

It is up to man to strive to be free, just as it is a nation's destiny to fight for its freedom. It was this simple but powerful idea that had guided our patriotic ancestors 139 years ago as they were preparing for 15 March 1848. The reason why this idea had such a powerful and sweeping appeal to millions,



to an entire people, was that it was a manifestation of the realization that there was no freedom, as well as of the recognition that it was the people's basic right to be free. And lo and behold, out of the sub-national consciousness somewhere appeared a poet who with the simplicity of the most brilliant of inventors presented the following choice to the people: "Shall we be slaves or shall we be free...", to which at first the people of Pest, and later of the entire country thundered in reply "...slaves we shall no longer be!" Joining the rest of Europe, Hungarians and the country were able to stand tall, said Inre Pozsgay in his introduction.

#### Day Elevated to Symbol

In the history of every people, every nation there are dark or ambiguous pages to be found, some splattered or dripping with blood. But there are also pages that are clean and glorious; pages that instead of wearing or fading away present an increasingly brighter and more glorious picture of human greatness, dignity, strength and willingness to live in community. We Hungarians have had our share of national tragedies, even more than what would have been just enough to teach our people to be considerate and rational. We have had more than our share of slavery, subjugation, fear and involuntary compromises to understand clearly what it meant to be a defenseless and exploited Hungarian. We have had much more than our share of fratricidal wars, life and death struggles against kin peoples if we look at it in terms of what a people can normally endure with its spirit and self-respect intact. We must never forget, however, that at no time during our entire history have our people ever failed to raise their heads at least once and, by joining forces with the nationalities within its boundaries, to earn their place, freedom and future here, on the European continent.

Our checkered history notwithstanding, we can consider ourselves fortunate to be able to look back with pride not only to the great era of the Arpads and the Hunyadis, but also to certain periods of our centuries of misery and humiliation. One needs only to point to the time of Bocskay's revolutionary wars; the decades of Gabor Bethlen's rule in Transylvania; the magnificent battles waged by the poet Zrinyi against the Turks on the one hand, and the Hapsburgs on the other; the Kurucz-era and the Rakoczi uprising that would turn into an enormous freedom movement, or the inspiring movement of the Hungarian Jacobines at the end of the 18th century.

Even in this great series of Hungarian historical events, however, there is one day that has outshined the rest and has become elevated to a national symbol: 15 March 1848. This glorious day illuminates the past, the future as well as our current history, making our fate and troubles, our intentions and accomplishments easier to see, understand and measure; it

helps us to develop a better perspective on the balance between the opportunities and values we have preserved and the ones we have bartered away.

It is this day which we have gathered to commemorate and celebrate here today: the spring of Hungarian revolutions and revolutionary wars, the month of March which has come to be glorified as a national symbol; the "Nemzeti dal" [National Song], the Kossuth song, the names especially of such great figures as Petofi and Kossuth which are so deeply rooted in our national consciousness today. We remember, because we must remember that historical moment, the ecstatic moment of the bloodless revolution in Pest. We must remember not only the radical youth of March, but also everyone else who had taken upon themselves to serve the cause of "homeland and progress" with honor, first during the reform era and later during the revolutionary war. We must remember not only that great moment, but also the entire process as a whole, for only by doing so can we really understand the message of history and the reason why the flags and cockades of March belong to the entire nation, and not just to certain chosen strata or groups within it.

During the revolution the entire nation, people of every creed and rank had shed their blood so that the nation could look forward to a brighter future. In the end they had all failed to realize their main aspirations, regardless of whether they had tried through peaceful means as during the reform era, or by taking up arms and spilling their blood as during the revolutionary war.

It is not they, our ancestors, the Hungarian people or their intellectual and political leaders who should be blamed for failing to enrich Europe with a strong and independent Hungary. It was owing to the logic of absolutism and the irrational unscrupulousness of the policies resulting from it that Vienna had been unable to come to its senses. It was its own incompetence that had compelled it to follow the worst possible course. It had failed to realize the seriousness of the Hungarian reform demands and reformist forces. At the same time it had also failed to recognize the possible benefits it could have reaped from a still workable compromise, for it had continued to have too much faith in its time-tested administration and military strength. Szechenyi's peaceful, compromise-seeking reform program, Wesselenyi's strong reform-minded radicalism, Kolcsey's sober yet firm warnings, the local disturbances, the restlessness among the young members of parliament, and the compromise-oriented admonitions of the changing European environment had all been in vain, as Vienna had refused to be swayed. Partially at least, therefore, it was

the narrow-mindedness of absolutism that had led to the creation of Hunagarian national unity and brought together peoples who otherwise had not only not seen eye to eye, but had actually taken opposite stands in their everyday poitical battles.

#### High Morals

We are talking about people who had remained true to the ideal of progress, whose goal had been to bring the country in line with the rate of European development, and who had been willing to commit their mind, their efforts, and when they had to even their lives to the realization of their ideals. Let us learn from their example that without such morals, such character and the willingness, when called for, to make necessary sacrifices there can be no creation, no homeland, no democracy and no social progress.

This is how Petofi had put it nearly 150 years ago: "Posterity may conclude that I was a bad poet, but it will also recognize that I was a man of strict morals; or simply put, a republican whose main slogan was not 'Down with the King' but 'For High Morals.' For it is not the divided crown that constitutes the basis of a republic, but the incorruptable character and unweaving sincerity of its citizens." By making this clear he had defined the most important requirement: The purity of public life and its moral foundations should be sought in the individual, for without him there can be no republic. Let us add here that there can also be no socialism. It is easier to divide the crown than to create a republic. It is also they, the great personalities of this era, however, who have taught us that in addition to having "high morals" it is also essential to be knowledgable and prepared, and that the task facing each new generation is not only to divide the crown but also to build a republic.

Petofi's prediction about himself was inaccurate. For posterity not only considers him to be a man of high morals, but it also knows and acknowledges that he was a great poet. Similarly, Szechenyi was not merely a sensitive soul, deeply concerned about his country, but also a man of vision, a thinker with a broad European perspective. Nor was Kossuth just an impassioned orator and organizer; he was also an eminently skilled and prepared statesman who understood and felt the value of tensions in politics. But I could also continue my list with the generals of the revolutionary war. Would it have been possible, one might ask for example, for the Europe-wide hailed military accomplishments of the winter and spring campaigns, or the nearly miraculous tactical successes of the Transylvanian defensive meneuvers to ever materialize without the exceptional abilities and military expertise of Gorgey and Bem? Let us learn from this magnificent period of Hungarian history and its

similarly great personalities that those wishing to do something for their country and humanity must rise above the requirements of the era and task, both in terms of morals and knowledge. This is the basis of every great undertaking.

The men of 1848 had never wanted war or bloodshed. Armed struggle had been forced upon them, and the fact that for several months they had been able to achieve these kinds of successes in a seemingly hopeless struggle, facing overwhelming odds, is a testament to this kind of morality and knowledge. Therein lies the secret of victory, and the key to being able to survive defeat with honor and without inner conflicts. Hence posterity can claim with a clear conscience: what happened at Vilagos was a disgrace that reflects not on the Hungarian people, but on the Holy Alliance.

#### Still an Example to Follow

Today's wonderful celebration is a great opportunity to commemorate the 50th anniversary of yet another historical event, continued the General Secretary of the HNF. It was a half a century ago that the flag of the March Front, a progressive united national movement, considered by the Patriotic People's Front to be its own predecessor, was unfurled. Even during the darkest counterrevolutionary era there was in this country of glorious but defeated revolutions a determined and enlightened group of people who made the popular front concept the basis of their program for the Hungary of the future. And although back then oppression was still stronger than progress, the spirit of the March Front lived on; it continued to provide momentum for the resistance to fascism, war and the German occupation, and after the liberation, for the struggle to rebuild the country.

The lessons learned from the March Front are still relevant today. The most magnificent days in the history of the communists have been those when their initiatives and the nation's needs have coincided. This is how it was in 1937, when the party of the workers served as a forum of expression for leaders who even during the years of underground existence and oppression were able to keep in touch with the populist writers, rural sociologists, the outstanding personalities of intellectual life, the university students and young people who were ready to assume responsibility for the country's future. Similarly important was the recognition by the members of the March Front that the Hungarian people were mature enough to direct their own fate and to administer their own affairs.

The formation of a multitude of people's revolutionary organs and national committees at the time of the liberation in late 1944 and early 1945, clearly proved this and underscored the legitimacy of the people's democracy and the ability of the



Hungarian workers to govern themselves. It was then that one of the finest precepts of the Marxian popular front concept was first confirmed: the only type of rule which a social revolution can produce is one which is based on direct participation and control by the people. Where this requirement is ignored, and where society is placed under the tutelage of a closed and secretive regime, it is natural for the people to become incapable of managing their own affairs, to fall under the spell of political misconceptions and to lose their sense of responsibility.

Similarly great was the international significance of the March Front. In this respect, too, it followed the tradition of its glorious predecessor, March 1848. In 1937, the idea of world freedom was closely connected with a specific situation, i.e., with the resistance to the emergence of fascism. Rejecting the narrow-minded objectives of Hungarian nationalism, the March Front's vision of the nation's future urged cooperation among all of the country's nationalities and minorities, proposing a kind of shared destiny in which the autonomy of all Danubian peoples would be respected.

#### Survival and Progress

Whether we live in Hungary or anywhere else in the world, we, today's Hungarians, must understand that humanity is faced with a choice between the inseparable possibility of survival and progress or destruction. For we ourselves are facing the same ultimate choice. It is essential, therefore, that we make the right decisions and that we act rationally. Our most important tasks are to be performed right here at home. We must implement our own socialist social reforms; we must put our own country in order, and we must take our own surroundings and turn them ourselves into a humanly acceptable environment that suits our needs. This may be our contribution to the future of humanity.

"We do not feel good about ourselves," I hear more and more people complain everywhere, irrespective of their age, sex or occupation. We must remember, however, that in their time Szechenyi, Wesselenyi, Kolcsey, Kossuth, Petofi, Tancsics and Batthanyi, or even Deak could not have felt all that good about themselves either; nor could the peasant, soldier, worker or burgher, for that matter, when thinking about what tomorrow would bring. Still they did what they had to and were able to do. And their actions have created history.

The lesson to be drawn from this example is that as far as the collective is concerned, our own negative feelings are of little importance unless they lead to responsible action. People who are ready to act always blame themselves first when they are dissatisfied, whereas those who are incapable of taking action

always blame the circumstances. Instead of our own feelings, let us place greater emphasis on our own responsibilities. If the women of Hungary today do not wish to bring children into this world because they do not want to bother with the responsibility of caring for them, or because they do not have faith in the future, then this nation will not have a future. And if we, today's adult society, are unable to provide an example showing how to build, in accordance with our own needs and abilities, a viable family, a rational economy, and a democratic system that is worthy of today's man, then we are not leaving much behind for future generations to hang onto. If our young people today are not preparing, or are not getting prepared by us to face the challenges of tomorrow then we will rob ourselves not only of our tomorrow, but perhaps even of our past.

Despite our growing problems, we have every reason to be optimistic. The domestic social, political and intellectual climate is conducive to transformation, change and renewal. And what even in contemporary history we have not always been able to say: the international background is also positive. Who can pretend not to be excited, for example, by what our Soviet friends are doing? In the 18th century, the ideals of progress and renewal came from the West. Back then, to quote Batsanyi, the warning was still: "Your watchful eyes on Paris be cast!" In the 20th century and today, however, the ideals of progress and renewal have been coming from the East. In fact today the same poet would probably write: Your watchful eyes on Moscow be cast!

There are plenty of tasks lying ahead that can only be accomplished through a joint social and national collaborative effort. Still facing us--and primarily our middle-aged and young generations--is not only the challenge of continuing to restructure and rationalize our economic system, but also the task of reforming, democratizing and renewing our system of social, political and cultural institutions in the broadest possible sense. Order based on mutual consensus and understanding; political democracy; distinct and clear-cut relationships in our public life; more rational decisions in production; more fairness in our system of distribution; more complete social security for every member of society; a rich and colorful cultural life; a more consciously appreciated, better quality and more thorough public education--these are the most important dreams and aims which we have set before us today.

These are not unrealistic dreams and aims; in order for them to be attained, however, it is essential that our nation, the Hungarian society share a common desire. For such a desire is power; power which spirit and knowledge must be able to rely on for support if we are to effect a qualitative change in our

lives; power which we need in order to be able to continue to build a socialist Hungary that will provide a safe and secure home for its citizens, and offer the experience of national belonging and a sense of dignity to Hungarians living beyond its borders. A Hungary worthy of such respect will not only never be an outcast, but will become a more integral part of the community of nations.

#### Values of the Past

"Who is a Hungarian?" asked Gyula Illyes. And this is how he answered: "A Hungarian is one who bravely confronts his people's troubles and the obstacles hindering the nation's progress. He is one who continues to strive for freedom in all spheres of life; one who wants culture, good health and prosperity for his people; one who considers it a blow to his self-esteem as a human being and a Hungarian every time he encounters destitution, hunger and disfranchisement." I do not believe that we could more appropriately describe the internationalist--yet still fundamentally patriotic--relationship between homeland and progress, between being Hungarian and being human.

Small peoples today still have no other choice but to strive to become great peoples in soul, morals and spirit, for otherwise they will become increasingly poorer and fewer in number. The nations of the world are engaged in a competition, which fortunately is not limited to an arms race, but is also a competition of human and national qualities. It is this latter type of competition that we prefer; this is where we have a chance to excel, and this is what we need to and want to participate in.

What advice can I, as a member of the older generation give young people? Perhaps only that you should try to avoid making the same mistakes we have made, while adopting some of our virtues. The time will come when this small country of ours will be yours. Do not expect to inherit a finished product. You will have to earn your own place in the world and build yourselves a country in which you feel at home. This is the fate of all generations. Never forget, however, that what you are building upon is not just any kind of a foundation. It is poured from the great undertakings of a thousand years, including those of our contemporary history. And should you, at some future time, decide to pronounce harsh judgement on the work which you will have inherited from us, be fair in the severity of your criticism, and weigh our deeds within the context of our history. This is all I ask of you. Until that time let us work together toward the goals we share, remembering that every generation has a desire to act and a potential to create. The tasks facing our generations, and the alliance they have entered into to combine their efforts will thus be worthy of the legacy of their predecessors.

Let us, therefore, celebrate March 15 in the spirit of the tasks before us, of collective action and civic responsibility. Let us cherish the spirit of the reform era and of March 1848, and heed to the words of Kossuth: "Our homeland is eternal, hence we are responsible not only for what is, but also for what may and will be. "

So be it, said Imre Pozsgay in closing.

9379

CS0: 2500/277



## METAL WORKERS OFFICIAL VIEWS LABOR, ECONOMIC ISSUES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Zdzislaw Tuszyński, chairman of the Trade Union of Poznań H. Cegielski Plant Employees and vice chairman of Metalworkers' Federation, by Daniela Sielska: ""We Shall Not Present a Sham Front...."]

[Text] (P) [Question] During our conversation following the first meeting of metalworkers at the Baildon Iron and Steel Plant you had cited Professor Jan Szczepański's statement that the working class will satisfy its societal needs once it exercises well the role of the producer. In your opinion, has there been any substantial progress in accomplishing these production tasks, and in meeting consumer needs as well, since that meeting, that is, during the last 3 years? What role was exercised during that period by trade unions?

[Answer] I might again refer to the banner bearing the slogan, "A Strong Economy Means Plenty of Housing," which was hung in the auditorium where the trade unions held their congress. At the Baildon Plant this slogan would certainly be reworded, "We Demand More Housing." This change in emphasis means that, first, our movement did not let itself be driven into the blind alley of making unrealistic demands and, second, that a fairly common reappraisal of certain opinions and beliefs has taken place. At present, the conviction is growing that a good economic performance is the basis for wage and benefit demands.

Yet, obvious as this dependence is, it was not always that we were willing to perceive it. I would hazard the statement that every citizen of our country thinks of the economy with concern and often also with apprehension. This has also been reflected in discussions at our congress -- except that the trade-union movement has gone still farther by critically analyzing the mechanisms of management which, in our opinion, lack explicit and stable rules. This makes it impossible to define precisely the relationship between the performance of a given enterprise and its economic end-results, as well as between the performance of the individual employee and the remuneration he receives for it. And since this relationship is non-existent, since the consumers are blamed for waste, and since wages are no yardstick of productivity, it is difficult to appeal to the awareness of enterprise workforces.

Another important aspect of the activities of our movement is its postulate of the need to overcome all subjective obstacles, which are viewed as also including certain institutional barriers and dogmas that hamper the economy.

[Question] Could you explain in greater detail this general observation?

[Answer] For example, the objective laws of economics should be treated with greater respect and allowance should be made for contemporary civilizational, technological, and social changes. At the same time, the natural inclinations of man also should be taken into consideration. Why is it, e.g., that our economic system weakens the individual's desire to compete, to distinguish himself, and to become prominent, a desire that is psychologically justified and has been existing for centuries? How much creative energy are we wasting because we tolerate mediocrity? That is surely why we have been dominated by egalitarianism in the distribution of material goods whereas it should have been egalitarianism of opportunities [equal opportunity]. In recent years, fortunately, this idea has been gaining acceptance, as reflected in the increasingly popular view that, if every individual is given an equal opportunity to demonstrate his capabilities, those who accomplish more should receive greater rewards. Similarly, the understanding of the necessity of applying firm economic rules is gaining acceptance at plants and factories.

[Question] But these rules may also result in some social ills, and perhaps also in a curtailment of social services. Would trade unions accept this?

[Answer] The trade unions have already expressed their support of the principle of "each according to his labor," and they believe that the extent of social services should be adjusted to the resources generated, on one condition, however, namely, that the performance of a plant or a factory should not be unfavorably affected by factors independent of it. That is, enterprises should not suffer because of, e.g., faulty economic mechanisms. The trade-union movement strives to achieve a situation in which the tried and tested "work--money--market--satisfaction of social and personal needs" relationship will be the decisive factor. Then the problem of access to scarce goods -- a problem that is at present so greatly demoralizing our society -- will disappear.

[Question] This is already a well-known prescription, but one difficult to translate into reality.

[Answer] It is precisely the inability or unwillingness to apply sound economic principles and equitable criteria for the distribution of generated income that has been the principal cause of our social crises. We have said that an end must be put to it. Trade union members include many individuals who are determined to push for appropriate measures and reforms.

[Question] I find this statement to be doubtful: whom are you to "push" and by what methods, considering that everyone in this country, starting with the direct producers and ending with the central decisionmakers, is in favor of the economic reform?

[Answer] To put it briefly, we wish to push in favor of deeds rather than just words among both producers and decisionmakers. At a plant or factory this can be accomplished with the aid of appropriate economic instruments, as mentioned previously. So far as solutions on a national scale are concerned, we can exercise our influence by participating in various advisory groups and representative bodies. We desire logical and effective solutions. No one is satisfied with the slow and partial progress that has undoubtedly been taking place in the last 3 years. For no one wants to vegetate for years. Hence, trade unions desire to rally persons who reason rationally and are capable of independent judgment and of proposing alternative solutions on the scale of both the enterprise and the entire country. In a word, we desire to be a force promoting progress and cooperating with all elements pursuing these goals.

[Question] Let me ask you plainly, have you the clout for coping with this task? Do the accomplishments of trade unions so far warrant optimism as to their further undertakings?

[Answer] Although, in my opinion, trade unions lack spectacular successes and can merely point to partial accomplishments (remedying particular economic or social solutions), they represent a substantial force to be reckoned with in our country. That is why, although we still have so much to accomplish as regards wages, prices, and living conditions, I am convinced that trade unions can play an important role, provided that they continue to operate in close contact with workforces and express their strivings and opinions. They also should develop their own centers for assessing social and economic trends and become in a sense an intellectual community deserving of respect and enjoying authority. That is why I repeat that the most important challenges are yet before us.

[Question] How do you assess, so to speak, your own experience as a trade-union activist?

[Answer] I think that being a trade-union activist causes a man to learn much more and to develop as a person. It seems to me that this is why I and many of my colleagues know more about our country than did, e.g., our fathers. To be sure, we have also benefited from the development of forms of democratic governance of the state.

At one time my father, who also had worked at the Cegielski Plant, was ready to believe in the slogans themselves. But as for our generation, we have learned to measure words by deeds and to seek counsel from experts. For we declared that trust is all right, but there also should be verification so that incompetent persons who are divorced from reality or are devoid of ideals would no longer lead us by the nose.

1386

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## OPZZ CHIEF VIEWS WORKING PAST, 'COMPROMISE' ISSUE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Jan 87 p 3

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), by Daniela Sielska: "'Imaginatively and With Moderation': ZYCIE WARSZAWY interviews Alfred Miodowicz" surtitled "National News")]

[Text] [Question] Recently you have been commenting extensively on the tasks and program of trade unions. I should like to begin our interview with a somewhat different topic. Your life has changed completely — once a blast-furnace operator, now you are the chairman of a trade-union congress. This year you would have been celebrating the 35th anniversary of your work at the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant. How often do you reminisce about the people and environs there?

[Answer] I not only reminisce about them but return there often. After all, I have there tried and tested friends, fellow workers with whom I had engaged in arduous labor. To propaganda and the mass media this is surely a hackneyed topic: the red-hot blast furnace and the descent of the pig-iron charge, so often shown [in photographs and on screen]. But that is my world, my environment, among well-meaning people who live in solidarity with each other. Perhaps these traits of their character have evolved precisely under these conditions, or perhaps it is precisely such people that gravitate toward such work?

A blast-furnace operator is not, to be sure, the hero handling red-hot metal as shown in propaganda and the mass media. His task is to guide the blast-furnace process with the aid of 150 different gauges;, and he operates a control panel. But the safety of the surroundings and his fellow workers also depends on his alertness and skill.

I understand that your question is implicitly intended to bring out whether the worker Miodowicz has not become alienated from his old environment, and to reveal how his former fellow workers react to him. Well, they always tell me, "Keep well and do not let yourself be sidetracked, because so many worker issues are yet to be resolved." All the more, I feel responsible for these issues. When I tour other plants and factories, people approach me and tell me what I should strive and struggle for. Thus perhaps I am not threatened by such alienation.



[Question] These visits to plants and factories thus seem to suggest that people view trade unions as a militant organization. But is not compromise more advantageous at times?

[Answer] I wouldn't say that workforces are encouraging us to be uncompromising at any price. After all, people are well aware of the realities and their wishes are mostly modest, usually relating to basic issues. But we are expected to be consistent. Once we decide to pursue an issue, we stay with it till the end. Of course, an agreement and sometimes a reasonable compromise is always useful. My philosophy of life is such that sometimes one step backward has to be made in order to accomplish several steps forward. But I also believe that there exist situations in which persistence, militancy, and even, let me say it, belligerence are needed.

[Question] It seems to me that these traits are not part of your character. Does this mean that you find it difficult to act in such a firm and ruthless manner?

[Answer] I am aware that much depends on the activities of the trade unions. That is why we cannot always afford being diplomatic. After all, promoting public participation in decisionmaking requires resolute dealing with persons who adhere to belief in their own infallibility and refuse to acknowledge any contrary opinions. This is the most fertile soil for arrogance. Many trade-union organizations have demonstrated that they know how to cope with this phenomenon, know how to represent properly the interests of employees, and know how to enforce adherence to trade-union rights. Wherever the desires of the workforce were ignored, serious conflicts not infrequently arose. Thus at times it is necessary to be resolute. Trade-union members are unconcerned with the problems we meet in our activities: all they want to know is how do our activities promote the wellbeing of working people.

[Question] Suppose I ask you precisely this question. Do you think that the activities of trade unions so far have been gratifying?

[Answer] I think that now that there exist 26,000 plant trade-union organizations, to which a majority of employees belong, everything that happens at enterprises is known to them. Our rights also are becoming more respected outside the enterprises. We have for example verbalized definite needs of the society. Even before the 10th PZPR Congress we began to discuss the need to define goals that can contribute to improving consumer living standards. We demanded prioritizing the supply of consumer goods, public health, environmental protection, and, above all, housing construction. And our demands have to some extent been reflected in the economic plans.

[Question] But so far this has not resulted in, e.g., in any increase in housing stock.

[Answer] But funds have been allocated also for the production of certain building materials, e.g., structural ceramics, reinforcement rods, or radiators. And housing construction is no longer spoken of as a task that has to wait its turn. Our postulates have also resulted in increasing the minimum wage and adopting the principle of its annual reappraisal. This can also be

said of changes in the procedures for crediting and reappraising the social services fund and the housing fund. Although to be sure the related decree is not meeting all our expectations, it represents definite progress.

We also have combatted the tendency to use the so-called statistical averages in figuring the increases in the prices of staple goods, and especially of food. These averages have been obscuring the real picture. The official statistics had looked just hunky-dory, but in reality the consumer was suffering. If, owing to economic considerations, substantial price hikes become necessary, we shall demand effective protection for, especially, the economically most disadvantaged families.

The expectations of workforces toward trade unions are highly mobilizing. We are trying to meet these expectations too; we desire to act imaginatively, with a thought toward the future, but also with moderation. That is, we formulate desiderata based on economic and social realities. The fulfillment of these desiderata largely depends on the effectiveness of state and economic administration. Let me say it plainly that differences in scope, methods, and pace of the implementation of our recommendations occur frequently. Similarly, we refuse to accept minimal targets that are relatively modest and do not exploit all the potential. For we regard such potential as being constituted by, e.g., affording a field for action to highly knowledgeable and resourceful individuals. Usually they cannot break through that bureaucratic thicket which nullifies their energies and talents. We expect the second stage of the reform to bring about positive changes in this respect. Trade unions will take an active part in promoting these changes.

[Question] What forms could that participation take?

[Answer] Trade unions will continue to promote conditions conducive for productive work of the workforces, without stoppages and other disruptions that reduce effectiveness, and press for a 42-hour work week and an 8-hour work day paying wages adequate for supporting one's family without having to moonlight or work overtime. We shall attend to a good atmosphere at workplaces. By this we mean both just wages and work evaluations and a demanding attitude on the part of competent and professional superiors. We acknowledge the justice of differentiating wages according to the effects of labor. We shall continue to focus our attention on the scope of benefits, respect for the law, and respect for the postulates of workforces.

Is that little as a contribution to building proper social relations? On the other hand, we don't intend to do anything as a surrogate for the administration, such as, e.g., acting as a production organizer.

[Question] I have been told that some people think you too demanding, that you insist on certain outmoded solutions, e.g., on subsector benefits and privileges which are of no motivational value.

[Answer] I can't agree with this. These privileges were supposed to provide an incentive for accepting particularly difficult jobs or occupations. At present some benefits are indeed of no value and perhaps we would agree to eliminating them if we could be sure that it would be a substantial factor in reducing

inflation, improving our balance of payments, or changing the situation to the better so far as the feeling of social justice is concerned. Actually, however, such curtailment of privileges yields no such advantages but on the contrary may embitter a considerable number of workers. It may be regarded as a coup against the accomplishments of trade unions and workers. And yet, we want to reach stability in this matter too. Such safeguards of permanence of benefits and allowances can be provided by labor bargaining agreements, collective agreements, and factory agreements.

[Question] Could we conclude this interview by reverting to personal matters? You have moved from Krakow to Warsaw. Is this a change to the better?

[Answer] We left Krakow, because it would difficult for me to commute to my family there over a longer period of time. I have a three-room apartment in a multifamily apartment building in Lower Mokotow. As usual when moving, many problems have arisen, and our old furniture does not match the new interior. But I think that one can grow to like Warsaw.

[Question] Are you pleased with your present job?

[Answer] Working with trade unions is indeed different from what I had been doing before. For example, it also requires anticipating the consequences of one's own actions or decisions, and subordinating oneself to certain objective laws -- in this case social and economic laws. I already mentioned tenacity and consistency in pursuing own ideas and solutions. But at the same time I believe that some flexibility and a soupcon of slyness are needed. And lastly there is the choice of the right approach depending on time and circumstances.

Let me say it plainly: handling red-hot metal is easier. Still, my present job is gratifying whenever it meets with social support, of which I not infrequently have proofs.

1386

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## BARCIKOWSKI ON ADVISORY COUNCIL, 'DEMOCRATIC' RESPONSIBILITIES

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, 25 Feb 87 pp 3-4

[Interview with Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo Member, deputy chairman, Council of State, by Mirosława Machura: "Democracy is Harder But Safer"]

[Text] [Question] The Ninth Congress initiated transformations promoting the democratization of sociopolitical life in our country. The continuation of these processes was affirmed by the 10th PZPR Congress. Could you evaluate the present stage of the changes under way?

[Answer] It should be emphasized that by now already legal foundations for changes in the sociopolitical system have been created. First, our party has a new statute and second, there exists an entire array of decrees on self-government and representative bodies. And at present additional new institutions complementing this system are being introduced. As ensues from it, the foundations of democratization continue to be laid. It seems to me that much more still could be accomplished within the now existing statutory and formal-legal framework.

[Question] What is preventing it?

[Answer] Above all, the fact that we continue to be a society divided, and also that public activism still remains rather limited. And yet it is activism that engenders the need for democracy. Democracy is not needed by passive people. And hence those who switch to deeds are filling the "vacuum" created by the new legal provisions and mobilizing new kinds of public activism. As I noted above, this is a process in being, a never-ending process, because as civic life develops the forms which we currently regard as extremely useful will change and domains of new activism will appear.. After all, this public activism is in the future to replace the state's activism. To be sure, this prospect is a distant one, but it has been made part of the program.

[Question] It is difficult to conceive this, considering our present-day realities.

[Answer] This should be the goal. But to be attained, it has to be borne in mind and serve as the basis for specific action. The situation at present is such that we are formally devoting more attention to this goal than valuing



what should be done in order to come closer to it. As a result, while proclaiming this goal, we neglect practices that should be cultivated in order to come closer to it.

[Question] In discussions of the model of institutions democratizing our life some of the opinions voiced are that we attach too much attention to the forms and less attention to the content of democratization, and that moreover too much effort is being expended on creating a growing number of new institutions while at the same time no essential changes have been made. Comrade Chairman, what is your opinion on this issue?

[Answer] I myself am not certain whether the number [of the new institutions] is sufficient by now. If some people believe that they are too many, they should identify the institutions which should be eliminated. To be sure, there also exist institutions which to this day remain inactive. But this does not mean that they are not fulfilling their role. To me, a classic example is the Tribunal of State. Let us recall that it had been formed during a most acute stage of the political crisis, with the idea of creating for the future an institution which would counteract the growing problems which we had faced during 1980-1981, that is, in a situation in which many administrative decisions diverged from constitutional powers. I believe that, although so far no government minister has faced the Tribunal, no one among those exercising power in Poland has forgotten about the existence of the Tribunal. This concerns awareness of responsibility for acting contrary to the principles of the Constitution. Is thus a disbanding of the Tribunal of State conceivable? This also applies to other new institutions. Consider for example the opinions being voiced about the passivity of worker self-government. Such opinions are clearly inconsonant with the "levee en masse" in defense of the rights of worker self-government, which explicitly demonstrates its role and viability. It cannot thus be said that we have created unnecessary institutions, but it can be said that not all of them are equally active. Here the best judge will be practice. It is simply that what proves viable will endure, develop, and change, and what proves not viable will wither on the vine. Such are the rules of social and political life. Of course, it would be an exaggeration to multiply institutions beyond justified needs, especially when this is done against popular will.

[Question] It can thus be said that the number and suitability of the new institutions will be evaluated and verified by actual practice.

[Answer] At any rate, the number of the institutions will certainly be rapidly adjusted to the desired level. But if some institution is missing, the society will certainly desire it. Nature abhors a vacuum.

[Question] The formation of the Advisory Council under the Chairman of the Council of State has elicited broad social resonance. It is causing, both before and after its formation, considerable public interest, although recently that interest seems to be declining. The public expects that, in consonance with the predictions, the Advisory Council will differ markedly from the traditional advisory institutions. To what extent is this expectation justified?

[Answer] As usual, the appearance of a new institutions elicits great interest and expectations linked to its functioning appear. This is natural. In the future these expectations are bound to become more precise and some of them will crumble as it were. The diversity of these expectations also has to be realized; it is simply that different individuals and social groups expect different things of the Advisory Council. But I wish to stress that the Council continues to be a subject of considerable interest. What is though particularly noteworthy is the fact that, perhaps more than any other institution established during the Period of Renewal, the Advisory Council attracts special interest abroad.

[Question] Is not though this interest, both in this country and abroad, rather limited to particular circles?

[Answer] Yes, that's true, because the formation of the Advisory Council has provided a forum for discussing affairs of state, national issues, with persons who had previously remained distanced from our sociopolitical life. Thus when the differences between the Advisory Council and other institutions of this type are considered, attention should be focused on its membership and on the fact that it consists of individuals with differing views, of differing social origin, and with differing traditions. And as for the many possibilities this generates, let me just point to one: the Advisory Council indeed affords an opportunity for conducting a permanent dialogue between Marxists and Catholics or, more broadly, between Marxists and believers. It affords possibilities for engaging in a permanent exchange of ideas on the relationship between the practice of social life and science. All this taken together has one common denominator -- the good of the country, the good of the nation, the problem of creating conditions serving to overcome the difficulties hampering the country's development path. In this connection, the Advisory Council is not conceived as a body opining on specific matters.

[Question] Meaning that this is another feature that distinguishes this Council from previous institutions of the same kind?

[Answer] The Council was formed with the object of issuing opinions on general issues. From what I know, the possibility of considering at its successive sessions our assets and the perils facing Poland has been discussed. This refers to a range of problems beginning with demographic ones and continuing through promotion of science and technology progress to environmental pollution. As can be seen, the Council can comment on significant groups of issues that have to be decided at the central state level. This raises the question of whether the Council will meet the expectations. Of course, the conditions under which it operates have to be considered. But essentially the point is that the Advisory Council will demonstrate the validity of its existence in practice, on its own merit.

[Question] Let us now consider another institution that is currently the subject of considerable interest. I am referring to the Citizens' Rights Spokesman. As known, this is not an original Polish concept. Institutions of a similar nature already exist for a prolonged period of time in several dozen countries. They exist, but this does not mean that they function properly everywhere. To be sure, we cannot automatically duplicate the experience of

these countries, because our political and social conditions are different, but nevertheless there is the danger that in Poland, where the phenomenon of "straw fire" is so very much present, this institution may extinguish itself immediately after its establishment. After all, what is the Spokesman to occupy himself with? There is a tremendous expectation that he will become an institution of appeal which, as if with a magic wand, resolves immediately vexing problems of the society. Comrade Chairman, what do you think of this matter?

[Answer] First of all I wish to emphasize that, in following the discussion of this topic, I myself have experienced many doubts about the future function of the Spokesman. The discussion is indeed lively and has spread to many constituencies, especially the lawyer community, which seems to show that this issue is of interest to many segments of the society. In theory, in this country the institution for overseeing adherence to law is the procurature. But we have observed that public opinion, public awareness, views the role of the procurature as being reduced chiefly to law enforcement. Another example: We have formed the Supreme Administrative Court, which exercises extremely important functions; its activities matter greatly to streamlining the state administration and it uncovers the most frequent mistakes committed by the administration. On the basis of its work it is possible to demonstrate to particular government offices conflicts between their decisions and the laws in force. But the role of that Court is not being fully appreciated by the public.

The institution of the Citizens' Rights Spokesman is indeed a subject of tremendous interest. This raises the question why? It is not, as you, Comrade, have rightly observed, a Polish institution alone. After all, it was originated by the Scandinavians. In the 1960's and 1970's this idea spread to practically the entire world. This is because, regardless of the system of society under which people live, life is becoming so complicated and the development of forms of collective life so tumultuous, that, owing to all that is happening around him, the individual feels solitary and feels his rights to be imperiled. The problem should be moreover viewed not only from the standpoint of the fabric of the society; there is also the entire technical side of this process. It thus appears that people need an institution which would intercede in their behalf, as their surrogate as it were, with such organisms as precisely government offices and large economic organizations, representing the needs of the individual vis a vis them. This appears to be needed by people for greater security, and hence also the popularity of this institution. Thus, its operation has to be tested also in Poland, and life itself will demonstrate its suitability.

[Question] What was the genesis of the idea of the institution of the Spokesman?

[Answer] When the matter is viewed thus historically, the First Congress of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] had postulated in its program document the formation under the Sejm of an agency protecting citizens against dangers ensuing from primarily violations of law. This postulate was one of the discussion topics prior to the 10th PZPR Congress, and subsequently it was incorporated in the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress.



[Question] Comrade Chairman, at one time you had commented negatively on the expression, "learning about democracy." This view is understandable, because as a program of action it sounds rather artificial, but nevertheless it remains as a problem. The party, being the vanguard of the working class and the entire society, has to accomplish a special task in this field. How can the party accomplish it so as to avoid didacticism and artificiality and at the same time become committed to this unusually important process of educating the public?

[Answer] Indeed, I don't like this expression. For it can be sometimes interpreted as a facile excuse by the authorities: there is no democracy because we have not learned this form of societal life. But let me answer you. Two factors are intertwined and practically mutually conditioned. The first is the question of democracy in intraparty life and the second, that of democracy in the relations between the party and all social elements and citizens. I can't conceive the operation of democratic mechanisms in our system in the absence of intraparty democracy. The party must inoculate this idea into its activists and cadres, it must teach them to value action by democratic methods. Let me repeat that democracy is harder but safer. Democracy in itself is a school of civic responsibility. And once a man has to accept responsibility for something, he has to know what it consists in.

It so happens in this country that it was indeed the party that had begun with itself. Let us recall those tumultuous discussions preceding the Ninth PZPR Congress and continuing at the congress itself. After all, it was those discussions that had led to the new party statute. To be sure, the impression may arise nowadays that party members attach somewhat smaller importance to the statutory decisions which used to be so hotly contested, but I would not advise meddling with and revising the provisions of the Statute. These provisions are a great accomplishment of our party, and they are accepted by it as its own. We all probably are aware that they represent a kind of safeguards of democracy. Of course, the Statute is merely a starting point, and as for the style of work that is another matter. It is precisely in the presence of growth of representative bodies and democratic institutions that the party should master more and more the Leninist principles for influencing social, political, administrative, and state life.

[Question] How is this to occur? After all, nothing happens of itself....

[Answer] This should occur through the mediation of the party members active in various organizations and institutions. But they must be party members who are so well-known and valued as activists in these organizations as to be elected to their offices. They also should know how to translate into the reality of the activities of particular organizations what is termed the general party line.

Do we already know how to accomplish this? It depends. In this respect I observe some instances of haste, and haste is supposed to be a bad adviser. It happens sometimes that, instead of reaching a consensus through discussion, we resort to a directive — a procedure which in my opinion settles very little. Within the party the method of personal talks, of reaching a consensus, the method of consultations, which promotes arriving at mutually agreed upon



decisions, is a method promoting a model development of democracy. If this model is to function effectively, it is indispensable that elected bodies oversee the implementation of the established tasks.

[Question] It is a truism that there exists a feedback between the social climate and the ongoing process of the democratization of life. That is, a good climate fosters democratization, and vice versa. Comrade Chairman, how do you assess the present and the future of Poland in this respect?

[Answer] The feedback? That depends, meaning that if the country exists in a highly difficult if not dramatic situation which is causing internal divisions, then, of course, by the nature of things, the operation of democracy is limited and governing by directives prevails. But it also happens that the application of democratic methods in a society that feels deeply frustrated affords a possibility for finding oneself, for participating in the resolution of debatable issues. Experience, if only ours, demonstrates that often one thing should be combined, supported with the other. If we view the martial law era and the subsequent period in this context, it is easier to understand what I am referring to.

To me, the greatest peril in the life of the society exists when so-called "unattached people" predominate in a society. (In the Middle Ages this term had a precise meaning: the non-citizens of a given city.) Every society has protected itself against such individuals. In our conditions, "unattached people" are individuals who do not belong anywhere. They are the sands of the society, loose, unconnected grains. It is difficult to reach an understanding with them, because they are dominated by emotions and moods rather than by commitment and a feeling of social identity, let alone knowledge. That is why it is so important that precisely members of the society, citizens of the state, should acquire knowledge about what is feasible and what is not, about what should be done to make the feasible become a fact, and lastly about what should be done in order to accelerate this process. We should thus conduct a debate on the broadest scale about what we have yet to accomplish in order to attain what is commonly acknowledged to be the end-goal.

Viewed from this standpoint, I see no reason or argument justifying either at present or in the immediate future the relinquishing of democracy in Poland. On the contrary! Democratic methods must be employed so that what could be a threat to democracy would become its strength. I mean national consensus on the broadest scale.

[Question] The development and deepening of the system of socialist democracy is a program plank of the resolutions of the Ninth and 10th PZPR congresses. In your opinion, what is particularly important to perpetuating this process?

[Answer] The main problem at present is filling with action the statutory forms and the institutional-legal framework created to democratize the life of our society. This can be accomplished by enhancing the activism and effectiveness of various kinds of self-government, beginning with the system of people's councils, to which I attach great importance, because it is essentially the nub of the matter, and proceeding through worker self-government, cooperative self-government, and self-governments of various

occupational and professional groups. If there is adequate activism, consonant with the realities of the life of the society, in these domains, we can feel secure about the progress of democratization and the overcoming of development barriers.

Of course, we still face resolving many issues. First, not letting ourselves be dislodged from the path chosen. I emphasize this because, when a problem is viewed realistically, there is always a group of people to whom the chosen direction of changes is simply inconvenient. After all, essentially, the activity of self-governments provides a kind of counterweight to administration at all levels. Second, in the future everything should be done to bring about an equilibrium in the situation. The administration should feel obligated toward self-government, and self-government should respect the work of the administration.

In this matter a great role is to be played by party organizations. Instruments for the party's influence on all people's councils have been created. It is possible to form party-member caucuses in other representative bodies. Of course, this should be accompanied by a feeling of tact and imagination. Actual needs and the realities have to be considered. There is one prescription for everything: rapport with the people should not be curtailed and time for it should never be begrudged; haste and impatience should be avoided, because they never help.

[Question] And neither does a didactic, pedagogical attitude....

[Answer] It should be borne in mind that we have not been especially anointed and [do not] have to be right every time. We say that the party is right in its program, in its general resolutions. But this does not mean that this rightness is apportioned evenly among all party activists. The right way and its justification have to be explored together with the people. Because if we solely desire to impose on others our thinking and our views of what is right, then, first, we may be wrong and, second, we place our partners in an unacceptable situation. And such situations may not and should not occur. This is an unusually important conclusion that we have inferred from the history lesson of our party and our country.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

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illustrated it with the example of an inspection conducted by the IRCh [Worker-Peasant Inspection Team] and continued by the NIK, stressing that, even before the inspection was completed, "protective umbrellas" had been erected above the threatened "armchairs." Stanislaw Baniak, a voivodship prosecutor from Szczecin, also discussed the barrier which misconceived autonomy and independence erect against inspections. This concerns chiefly cooperatives. In his opinion, basic party organizations would be able to prevent abuses, evils, and waste by availing themselves of the information provided by the public prosecutor's offices.

An IRCh representative from Bialystok tersely evaluated the situation in the cooperatives, and especially in housing cooperatives: "Administration in cooperatives is overstaffed, and all these boards and councils exist solely because this is so required by cooperative statutes."

But the principal topic of the discussion was the question of how to interest basic party organizations in the results of inspections and audits, considering, e.g., that the very fact that transcripts of NIK inspections and audits are transmitted to first secretaries of basic party organizations still does not mean that the membership itself of these organizations is notified about them. Franciszek Piecuch, Chairman of the Lodz Voivodship People's Council, stated that most of the basic party organizations are unaware about these findings. As for the organizations whose members are aware, they felt uncomfortable about drawing their superiors to account. Moreover, many secretaries of these organizations are unaware of their rights. This was mentioned by Grzegorz Jawor, chairman of the Nowy Sacz Voivodship People's Council, and Jozef Strzelecki, chairman of the Opole Voivodship People's Council.

The number and coordination of audits and inspections was another frequently raised topic. This was discussed by, among others, Edward Drzazga, chief inspector at the Office of the Council of Ministers, who offered the reminder that what matters is not the number but the quality of inspections. In his opinion, the low effectiveness of inspections is due to their poor preparation and occasional improvisation; after such inspections it is difficult to infer unambiguous conclusions. If subsequently someone protects the persons responsible, how can the inspections be effective? Deputy PRL [People's Republic of Poland] Prosecutor General Hipolit Starszak offered the reminder that each year prosecutors send to enterprises 30,000 reports on infractions of the law or on the existence of circumstances that may lead to lawbreaking. Such warnings should be especially utilized by the basic party organizations precisely in order to avert lawbreaking. NIK Vice Chairman Jan Antosik pointed to still another aspect of inspections. Namely, it also happens that, following an inspection, personnel problems are readily resolved but as for changing something within a plant, no one seems willing to attend to it. The plant director has to act alone, yet it is precisely assistance by the basic party organization that could mobilize the entire plant community.

The conference was attended by Commanding Officer of Citizens' Militia Jozef Beim.

T. Nowicki also mentioned that inspections should not hamper progress but on the contrary should defend inquisitive and courageous individuals. He also recalled W. Jaruzelski's message to the CKKR: "...It is important in this connection for the recommendations not only to identify the persons directly responsible for the shortcomings but also to uncover the entire 'pyramid' of responsibility, that is, both the superiors and the internal control bodies, which underfulfilled their duties, as well as all kinds of protectors-'advocates' at higher levels...." The discussion will serve to draft recommendations which should contribute to a more effective participation of control bodies in implementing the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress.

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## EGALITARIANISM AS COMMUNIST VALUE ON WANE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by Wlodzimierz Milanowski: "Disagreements About Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Is "egalitarianism" still a communist value? Has it not happened that from a virtue it has become transformed into an undesirable value, something impeding the constant forward progress of the people? Has egalitarianism become the banner of social conservatism?

We are not surprised by these questions. They reflect the course of ideological processes going on in our nation, processes that started in the 1970's. At the end of that decade "egalitarianism" began to be treated as a conservative value, something that would impede the natural and necessary dynamization of social relationships. Supposedly, as was then said and written, people act only when they can obtain a sufficiently attractive prize, when their exertions will pay off not only objectively, but subjectively. Egalitarianism was to be a value which proclaimed the unqualified unification of human needs and possibilities. It was to be considered the slogan which would interfere with the proper payment for human work, human competence and effort. Egalitarianism was proclaimed as the value responsible for the drive to equalize, to unify taste, dress, position, thought and opinion; as the unwillingness of the groups using populism to utilize the mechanisms of competition and drive, pushing some individuals to the forefront. The new philosophy was to be the social advancement by at least some, the most worthy, individuals.

Why has this come about? Why has "egalitarianism" turned (has been turned) from a revolutionary value to something mediocre?

There are two reasons. First, the cause of transforming egalitarianism into the principle of mechanical equalization was a bourgeois, not a proletarian, practice used in various social situations. Egalitarianism ceased to be a call and a shout. Instead it became a mask and a plaster which was to hide at least some of the manifestations of social unhappiness. It became the sham answer to the shortages in the supply system, in the health service, in social services. Because these shortcomings did not disappear and their cause, now more clearly visible, was the bad management in the production and

organizational systems, then "egalitarianism" became the substitute weapon of those who were weaker socially, economically, circumstantially.

Second, the revolutionary meaning of egalitarianism was once connected with enduring the feudal inequalities in the laws which were sanctioned by the government. The bourgeois revolution, in removing the shackles of feudalism, made everyone equal formally. Each person had the same right to participate in community life, enrich himself, enjoy life. The fact that some were unable to take advantage of these "possibilities" had no effect on this concept of equality. It still existed. But the workers' movement stated that such equality was not enough, that an economic foundation was necessary. To accomplish this it was necessary to abolish the private ownership of the means of production since it was the basis for the real inequality among people. This is what the socialistic revolution wrought. But almost at the same time it was realized that the elimination of this basis does not eliminate from social life all of the forms and phenomena which grew out of this basis. Socialistic egalitarianism was a directional value, which not only described the actual state, but the future and the set of criteria which would permit the evaluation of steps that would lead to the future! But a constant memory of the past and the systematic use of its criteria is not the easiest social and political procedure. It is the reverse. The procedure is extremely complicated and difficult. What to do? The matter can be "simplified" by proclaiming the attainment of equality, by saying that this highly desired equality is now among us. Since it is easy to see that there is a lack of equality, one can then proclaim that the correct slogan is "just inequality." Moreover, for a similar purpose one can prepare the appropriate and reasonably logical citations as to close the lips of those who think differently about the necessity of modernization, rationalization, scientific-technical progress etc.

Egalitarianism is a difficult value not only because it had been given over to a sophisticated process of deformation and disavowal. It is difficult because of itself, it embodies demands for a complicated - before implementation - character of all the procedures that would introduce it. Well, if there is to be "equality", then how to deal with the truly unequal needs, possibilities, desires, searches, and dreams? How does one cope with the different difficulties of various tasks, the attractiveness of various professions which are otherwise necessary to the society. How to cope with apportionment? Especially with apportionment which takes place under the limiting conditions of certain subjective and objective deficits. Even though the value "equality" does not speak of such matters, the practice of its implementation must deal with these problems.

I would like to bring out the axiological contents of this value which is fundamental to Marxism. It states that there is no equality unless it is embodied in the social system, if it does not result from the values and the process of social practice. Egalitarianism is not an equalization, nor is it the pruning of those needs and possibilities which grow above the average. Egalitarianism is the creation of conditions in which every person will be rich in his human needs and in which each individual will be able to self actualize himself, reveal his true creative qualities, his abilities and his dreams. Egalitarianism then is the value which orders an organization of

social life in which the chances for discovering and satisfying rich human needs are enhanced, in which the basic criterion for judging the value of a man is not his contribution to the nation, to the productive mechanism, or to any specialized function whatsoever, but to the human community in general. In which, at the same time, each individual has the same chances of decisive influence upon the course of community life, on the functioning of the collective, on the organization of its life and work, on the effects of collective thought, planning, and dreaming.

But egalitarianism, of course, is not just the value which revives the best traditions of human utopias. If it was not, then it would truly have to be given over to shock treatment by comparing it with reality. The fact that egalitarianism must not undergo shock treatment is the result of its practical qualities, of the role it plays in communist morality. Egalitarianism, however, demands a struggle against all appearances of inherited privilege, against the creation of social enclaves and niches forbidden to the "lowly born", against the appropriation of social values for individual use only...

It may be said that this is all demagoguery, that people work like this only when they have a chance of acquiring something. This thesis may then be supported by the unlawful manipulation based on identifying all processes of satisfying needs with taking possession. It may. But why? To take away from Marxism this very revolutionary value, to remove the basic criteria for the evaluation of social and functional changes. If so, then what is left? Perhaps only recognition for the value of the slogan shouted once by the victorious bourgeois: "Enrich yourself?"

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## WROCLAW 'SIECHNICE' PLANT CLOSING PROMPTS DISCUSSION

## Historical Background, Justification

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25 Jan 87 p 5

[Article by Jerzy A. Salecki: "The Siechnice Case"]

[Text] "Referring to the events that took place on 10 January in Wroclaw, Minister Jerzy Urban declared that a group of 25 activists belonging to illegal political structures had gathered on Ruznicza Street. They wanted to exploit for their own ends the public discussion of the future of the Siechnice Steel Plant and of its effect on the natural environment; they wanted to organize a demonstration. Ignoring the militia's appeal to disperse, these persons committed a transgression — they were detained and subsequently punished by community courts..." (An excerpt from the comments by the Government Press Spokesman)

## Introduction, or Social Engineering

The Siechnice Affair, which directly concerns the inhabitants of one of our largest cities, could have been considered a local problem had not it been for the model unfolding events, an analysis of which prompts conclusions and reflections that reach far beyond Wroclaw Voivodship.

Public emotions and tensions always stem from specific causes. Some such causes may be objective, irrespective of the greatest goodwill of people, skilled prediction, experience, and faultlessly drafted programs. But there also exist subjective causes of emotions and tensions, causes traceable to particular culpable individuals.

Such latter causes include: a mistaken decision or fear of taking a decision; inconsistency in action and continual revisions of concepts previously acknowledged as final; defense of one's own rationales combined with disregard of the court of public opinion; abuse of law in order to promote personal ends; tendentious or incomplete reports to superiors and superior agencies with the object of gaining their approval.

It is no accident that both the Resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the documents of the recent 10th congress of our party as well as successive



sessions of the Central Committee, including the well-known "worker plenum" in Lodz, have devoted so much attention to discussing and evaluating the struggle against the machinery of officialdom, also meaning a struggle for a competent and efficient administration that would act in the public interest and adhere to the laws in force.

A reporter must not and should not instruct serious people about their duties. Such people, who hold responsible positions in the institutions of state and economic administration, must not only be professionally trained and experienced but also have political imagination. For every administrative decision (or its lack) produces its own political and social consequences: it elicits applause and meets with support or, if it is unpopular but is justified in a logical and exhaustive manner, it at least meets with understanding of its necessity; if it is a mistaken and arbitrary decision, on the other hand, it elicits doubts, bitterness, anxiety, and causes emotions.

Mistakes made by individuals representing a government office, an institution, or a state enterprise, afford a field for action to opponents of socialism and enemies of people's power. The activists from the illegal structures are not concerned about identifying the culprits responsible for wrong decisions; instead, they present these decisions as facts which they interpret demagogically and in a distorted manner with the object of attempting to discredit the authorities in general and the state as a whole.

The fact that for several months now public discussion of the future of the Siechnice Steel Plant has been under way, demonstrates unequivocally the consistent implementation of the party's political line and proves the authenticity of socialist renewal. This difficult problem is being spoken and written about openly in a critical and controversial manner on presenting different rationales and different possible solutions.

It is a fact that the inhabitants of Wroclaw, who are undoubtedly interested in protecting natural environment in the environs of their city as well as in the quality of their water supply, did not succumb to the provocation by the alleged "ecologists" attempting to ignite a political focus of unrest. This is a splendid proof of their wisdom, common sense, and feeling of responsibility.

The leadership of our party offers frequent reminders that the duties of employees of the administrative and economic apparatus include taking measures to eliminate the causes of tensions and emotions, liquidate potential sources of social unrest.

I am not naive and I have no doubts about the intentions of the activists from the illegal structures. Had there been no Siechnice problem, they would have found some other pretext to act "in the name of the society." For the point is that the representatives of the authorities and the administration, officials, should neither disregard nor mishandle such problems so as to avoid justifying these pretexts. This precisely is the heart of the matter as regards political imagination and responsibility.

Everything indicates that decisions on the plant's future will be taken very soon. They will crown the collective effort of various institutions and organs

of the state. Unfortunately, let us say it plainly, regardless of whether the decision will be to modernize Siechnice or shut it down, the aforementioned little group of 25 activists will be able to discount that decision and exploit it for propaganda purposes by claiming, "Look, it took so many years [but nothing was done until] we organized the 'microdemonstration' in your own interest, dear citizens, and forced the authorities to finally act...."

The fallacy of such reasoning is obvious.

### The Heart of the Matter

Wroclaw must have water. This is indubitable. It has been known for nearly 100 years that aquiferous strata are located in the city's environs. The unusually favorable geological structure assures natural filtration of local waters.

During the interwar period a small carbide plant had existed in the vicinity of the aquiferous areas, and subsequently it was expanded into a small steel plant producing so-called ferroalloys which include chromium. In 1952 it was put into operation on the basis of old buildings and obsolete facilities. The country had needed every ton of steel and the metals industry was then "the apple of the country's eye" so to speak.

The problem of shutting down the plant had first arisen in the 1960's. The trend toward building large modern metallurgical combines meant that the technologically obsolete "relic" should be shut down. No one was opposed, but the approach was inconsistent.

Such the prehistory of the proverbial frog that must be swallowed ["biting the bullet"] by people who at present hold responsible positions but who at the time had at best been high-school or university seniors.

In the 1970's the Siechnice problem was reconsidered. It was definitely decided that the plant would be closed. This formally binding decision corresponded with the decision to build the so-called Mokry Dwor, a huge water intake facility for Wroclaw and Olawa. At the expense of many billions of zlotys a water-intake and filtration plant, one of the most modern in Poland, had been built. It is to be further expanded in the future so as to assure excellent water for both cities in the 21st century.

It was expected that the Siechnice Plant would collapse of old age. Its smokestacks spewed smoke and thousands of tons of dust. The slag dump, containing various oxides of heavy and light metals, continued to grow in size. The then Mayor of Wroclaw Dr Marian Czulinski designated a protective zone separating the plant from the water intakes. At the same time, to protect the environment, the plant's management had signed in 1976 an agreement with the Institute of Environmental Protection Engineering, Wroclaw Polytechnic, for "The Application of the Results of Research Into a Technology of Purifying the Volatile Gases of Arc Furnaces--A Gas Purification Facility." In plain Polish, this meant filters designed in theory to trap about 94 percent of the dusts. There still remained the slag dump as well as the so-called uncontrolled emission of dusts (from railroad rolling stock in the course of

transportation from raw material depots), but there was no radical remedy for them, given the existence of obsolete and worn facilities.

The decision to shut down the plant was not questioned, but the plant continued to operate. The inconsistent approach survived. The "frog" displayed an astounding vitality.

Then came the year 1980 and the economic crisis. Elementary common sense favored maintaining production. The smokestacks spewed dusts and the slag dump grew.

#### Figures in Billions

In 1984 the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the development of the metallurgical industry. This resolution contains a provision recommending that production at the Siechnice Steel Plant be continued during the 1986-1990 period.

The dispute between "ecologists" and "metallurgists" essentially reduces to the interpretation and practical consequences of that provision.

Said provision has decided the plant's future until 1990. The subsequent proposals concern the period afterward. Planners at the ministry of metallurgy assume that the plant will be modernized; by the year 1992 a total of about 6 billion zlotys will be spent on this purpose, and during the second stage of the modernization an additional 6.5 billion zlotys will be spent. It is expected that 38 percent of the overall outlays, i.e., 5.8 billion zlotys, will be spent on environmental protection.

These plans demonstrate that, after 1990, the plant would continue to exist in a modernized form.

This is where doubts arise.

The representatives of the plant's management claim in unison that its buildings and facilities are at least 70 percent worn out. The same representatives — persons with doctoral, master's, and engineering degrees, that is, knowledgeable individuals — estimate the cost of building a modern steel plant of a similar size and with the same profile of production to be about 30 billion zlotys. Thus a simple calculation reveals that the fixed (obsolete) capital can amount at most to 9 billion zlotys (30 percent of 30 billion zlotys). It has to be admitted that the plant's opponents are right in claiming that the ministry of metallurgy intends to build practically a new steel plant rather than to modernize the old one. The outlays markedly exceed the actual value of the plant; no less important, the modernization requires providing the plant with additional land for erecting new buildings and new dump areas — and this means land in the vicinity of the aquifers!

The wisdom of the saying, "a poor man cannot afford shoddy goods," bids a serious consideration of the economic effects of the thus conceived modernization. Twelve and one-half billion zlotys will be spent on an old and dilapidating plant. Consider that this is the current cost estimate; given the

tangible increases in the cost of manpower and resources, the actual outlays in the next decade will be much higher. What will the national economy gain? A steel plant in which up-to-date facilities adjoin museum-quality objects. And hence continual problems, difficulties, and the necessity of... incessant modernization.

This is no pleasure to write about, but much indicates that the Council of Ministers was misled by supporters of the survival of the Siechnice Steel Plant on its present site. For the basic problem is a comprehensive approach to the national economy, in which water is just as important as ferroalloys.

It may be supposed that the question of environmental protection was presented as a problem with a simple solution. The point is that while the anticipated outlays of 5.8 billion zlotys on this purpose represent a huge sum which demonstrates the government's concern for the ecological state of Mokry Dwor areas, this does not necessarily mean that they will effectively utilized.

For a number of months the Siechnice Steel Plant has been taking to various courts (that is, following a resort to the State Economic Arbitration Commission) the previously mentioned Institute of Environmental Protection Engineering. The developed of techniques and technology and the construction of "wet" filter facilities had cost (in 1984 prices) about 135 billion zlotys [as published]. After 9 years of operating trials, adjustments, revisions, and design changes, the filters still are not operating and Director Czulinski himself (the former mayor of Wroclaw) declared that the filters are good for nothing.

He said, "The 'wet' filters failed the test, because at our plant the production process generates specific dusts of a composition and structure different from those in the other steel plants."

In the opinion of the management of the Siechnice Plant, "dry" filters should be installed. They cost at least 10 to 15 times as much, and they are being used successfully at... other Polish steel plants.

The fecklessness and optimism of the management of the Siechnice Plant are disturbing. One hundred and thirty five billion zlotys [as published] has been thrown out of the window, yet the matter is being treated as a non-event. Being no fools, the scientists [from the Institute of Environmental Protection Engineering] had included in the agreement a clause exempting them from responsibility for the performance of the prototype facility....

At present, despite the lack of certainty that "dry" filters would do the job, new outlays are being planned. But what matters most here is that even an efficient performance of "dry" filters will not eliminate the uncontrolled emission of dusts; it will not eliminate the potential contamination of water by the components of the slag dumps -- both of the existing dump and of the new one which has not yet been sited.



## These Are Economic Rationales As Well

Members of several commissions of the Voivodship People's Council, the management of the Wroclaw Water Supply Authority, the local branch of the Polish Ecological Club, and the scientists and experts opposing the modernization of the Siechnice Plant are far from taking an extreme position. They do not demand an "immediate" shutdown of the plant. Engineer Ryszard Rakowicz, a designer of Mokry Dwor, told me that the continued existence of the plant until 1990 or even until 1995 would be accepted without enthusiasm but with understanding. The point is that a date for the plant's shutdown should be finally fixed, without creating "loopholes" for its continued operation.

A description of the several dozen (!) expert assessment studies of environmental contamination by the steel plant would require an entire dissertation. The assessment studies commissioned by the plant contain as a rule conclusions that minimize the peril, while the studies commissioned by the Voivodship Administration and its local branches and subordinate enterprises, performed by institutions of higher learning and research institutes, may contain diverse indicators but all invariably arrive at the conclusion tersely expressed by Professor Apolinary Kowal: "The continued existence of the steel plant constitutes an 'ecological bomb' which will explode if not now then in the future, given unfavorable circumstances (a drought followed by substantial precipitation)."

Currently Wroclaw is being supplied with good water, although it already is beginning to contain trace impurities, and although degeneration of the microorganisms existing in the soil of the aquifers has been observed. In the next few years the continued emission of dusts and the percolation of noxious compounds from the slag dump will, to be sure, cause a continuing deterioration of water quality, but not to an extent dangerous to the health of the inhabitants of Wroclaw and Olawa.

It is the future that is the problem. The opponents of the plant's modernization are waging a battle for the 21st century. Wroclaw cannot function as a municipal organism under constant peril of a catastrophe caused by objective factors and... parochial rationales of the supporters of the plant's existence. Hence, the ecologist community postulates that the schedule for shutting down the plant should be determined even now and either the previous concept of building a new steel plant in Rzeszow region be taken up again or another site be named. Resources should be accumulated consistently for this purpose, instead of patching up the spots of decay in Siechnice. The question of eliminating the slag dump must be resolved. It is possible to find buyers for the slag as well as those willing to process it and recover chromium. This should pay off, and Mokry Dwor will sigh with relief....

## An Attempt at a Balance Sheet

The assessment studies are here. What is needed is a final decision by the central authorities, because the plant is not subordinated to the voivodship governor.

The Siechnice Steel Plant pays each year compensation to local farmers and land-plot tenders; a coating of white dust is visible on trees, vegetables, and houses.

In the opinion of the plant's managements, the "dry" filters should begin operating not earlier than after 6 or 7 years.

The voivodship sanitation inspector is not concealing his apprehensions. The National Sanitary Inspector Brigade General Professor Jerzy Bonczak wrote as follows to the Ministry of Metallurgy:

"The existing contamination of the soil is making it possible for toxic metals to penetrate the water intakes and by the same token creating a menace to public health...."

Let us say it bluntly: the ministry of metallurgy, which is represented by officials who joust on behalf of every iron and steel plant, has for years been delaying and protracting the matter with the object of achieving a decision to leave the Siechnice Plant in existence.

The lack of a definite stand by the ministry of environmental protection is surprising. Its officials commissioned the research institute in Zabrze to... carry out yet another assessment study, as if there were not already 25 such studies available at the Wroclaw Scientific and Technical Society. What is more, the letter they wrote that institute did not specify terms of payment and schedule of execution. It is thus not surprising that the Zabrze people regard this request as a preliminary proposal. And so time passes and the correspondence continues....

Let us give credit where it belongs to the Wroclaw authorities. The Siechnice question has for years been a subject of proposals, hurry-up recommendations, and meetings organized by the Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR Committee. The Voivodship People's Council and its chairman are continually insisting on a final resolution of the problem. The Wroclaw Voivodship governor has declared that, unless the matter is conclusively resolved, public interest will require an immediate closing of the plant so as to "compel" the metallurgical "lobby" to adopt a constructive position.

As for the practices of the officialdom, here is an interesting example: a ministry official in Warsaw summons -- yes, precisely, summons! -- the chairman of the Wroclaw Voivodship People's Council to Warsaw so that he may present his position at yet another conference. But as for getting up himself from his armchair and coming to Wroclaw in order to be received by the highest representative of the local bodies of people's power, that the official does not deign to do.

At the Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR Committee I recorded wise and astute comments: Decisions must be taken dispassionately and follow the spirit of the party program, on harmoniously reconciling the interests of the state and the entire economy with local needs. The passage of time operates to the disadvantage of the authorities, which political opponents are exploiting. Attention should be

paid not only problems of production and cost effectiveness but also to what matters most — public health.

Decisions should not belong in the category of promises. They must specify in detail the timetable, the funds, and the executors. This is what the comrades from the voivodship party committee said, upon pointing to another matter that also transcends the confines of Wroclaw Voivodship, namely, "The process of decentralizing the authorities cannot reduce solely to the decentralization of problems." It is a fact that the political authorities of Wroclaw are at present swallowing a "frog" that Warsaw has dumped on them....

I peruse a sheaf of copies of Press articles in which supporters of the plant's existence and expansion accuse journalists of fanning the flame of public emotions. The arguments they use resemble the anecdotic argument that fires happen because the fire brigade exists.

I left Wroclaw convinced that the final decisions will be taken upon weighing every pro and con. I left the city feeling mindful of an utterance made by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 14th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in 1983, an utterance which the officials responsible for the economy as a complex whole, for "water, the metallurgical industry, pure air," should constantly bear in mind:

"In our intensive development of industry and expansion of cities we have contracted a great debt with nature.... Environmental protection is expensive, and very much so at that.... At present we lack the funds for it. But much damage can and should be averted even now. There is a need for a new way of thinking, for unremitting concern, for opposing thoughtless actions...."

Nothing need be added to the above. This obligates us all to display imagination and responsibility.

#### Environmental Lobby Role Examined

Warsaw TYGODNIK KULTURALNY in Polish No 7, 15 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Marek Sznajder: "Enough Poison!"]

[Text] The metallurgical lobby is losing a contest with ecology. This is incredible but true, and the 700,000 inhabitants of the Wroclaw Metropolitan Area can add, "Finally!" For on 29 January 1987, at a session of the Wroclaw Voivodship People's Council, the councilmen adopted a resolution to shut down the Siechnice Steel Plant by the end of 1991. The toxic waste dump imperiling the aquifers from which the city draws its water supply is also to disappear, a year earlier.

This decision has a more general implication, not just a local one: it proves that people are becoming increasingly aware that violated nature is showing us barriers to development, that the water shortage, and the deteriorating quality of water as well, probably is definitely ending the era of profligate exploitation. To be sure, this is not yet clear to everyone, which accounts for the peripathetic and long history of precisely the Siechnice affair.



In principle the dispute about the Siechnice plant should be objective for yet another reason: its siting is in conflict with the laws in force, and especially with the Water Law Decree and the Decree on the Protection and Shaping of the Environment which, in its Article 25, prohibits the construction or expansion of facilities injurious to the environment on areas requiring special protection, including areas containing sources of municipal water supply.

A few words about water. Water-intake areas for Wroclaw's water supply system lie directly within a protected zone extending from Bierzany to Siechnice and altogether measure 1,100 hectares in area. For more than 100 years they have been owned by the municipal water supply system. They include more than 550 wells, 63 infiltration reservoirs, a system of water supply pipelines and ditches, several weirs and pump stations, and, at the center of these intakes, the new water treatment plant in Mokry Dwor, built during 1976-1982 at the cost of some 15 billion zlotys [as published]. The decision to build it was supported by the then heads of the ministry of metallurgy, who at the time had been intending to shut down that technology-museum exhibit called the Siechnice Steel Plant. Moreover, years-long assessment studies indicate that this is the only on-range water-intake area for the Wroclaw region. There are no other siting prospects for the water supply pipelines.

A few words about the steel plant. It is catastrophically sited so far as the city of Wroclaw is concerned — this is its chief sin: it directly adjoins the aquiferous areas, and its toxic waste dump containing oxides of heavy metals such as lead, cadmium, chromium, and arsenic, is located barely a kilometer from the nearest infiltration reservoirs. To curtail the emission of dust from the dump, to which 100,000 tons of slag are added each year, and which contains altogether 1.7 million tons by now, the plant solidifies the slag, but even so the dump is becoming decomposed by weathering and precipitation. Moreover, by leaching toxic elements from the slag, the precipitation causes them to percolate into the soil and subsequently, together with the infiltrating waters, penetrate the aquiferous stratum.... Is not this a Cassandra-like picture? To prevent a misfortune, just in case, three reservoirs have been disconnected from the water supply pipelines. Well, many articles have termed the plant a delayed-action bomb.

The years-long dispute between the Wroclaw authorities and the ministry of metallurgy arose because, instead of proceeding with the officially announced shutdown of the plant, the [steel-industry] lobby demonstrated that it has a bulldog's grip: it is neither letting the Siechnice Plant go nor proceeding with a program for its modernization. Of course, it does so legally by referring to the 1984 Resolution of the Council of Ministers on the Development of the Metallurgical Industry, which also includes a relatively vague provision recommending that the production of ferroalloys at the Siechnice Plant be maintained during the 1986-1990 period.

An enigma can be interpreted in various ways. So is there a such a provision? Yes. And since the production has to be maintained, because the Siechnice ferroalloys are indispensable to steel refining, the plant has to be modernized. Thus, a modernization program that includes constructing anew as much as... 80 percent of the plant has been conceived! This means a



multibillion program that presupposes a continued existence of the plant for something like the next 100 years in the proximity of aquiferous land. The planners are to be congratulated on their daring and imaginativeness, or should they be? It also is piquant that the same man who, in his capacity as the mayor of Wroclaw, had signed in 1974 the decision to establish a protected zone for aquiferous land, and who has subsequently in the 1980's in his capacity as the steel plant's director been attempting to to consolidate that protected zone, has last January, almost concurrently with the session of the presidium of the voivodship people's council, followed by its plenary session, placed in the Wroclaw press paid Help Wanted advertisements that not only offer jobs at that obsolete industrial chicken coop which should not be operating in the late 20th century but also offer nonreimbursable financial assistance in relocation — in other words, this is a gambler's throw of dice for all or nothing, in the expectation that the steel plant will survive and all will be well. Or is it rather a waiting game?

The correspondence on this matter merely confirms that the [steel-plant] lobby is expert at that game. When, for example, the nation's chief sanitary inspector wrote to the ministry of metallurgy about the terrifying findings of studies which point to a accumulation of heavy metals in aquiferous strata, about the excessive toxic concentrations which imperil potable water, he received a reply to the effect that it is precisely the modernization of the steel plant that is in the interest of the natural environment. The reply offered an estimate of the proportion of those outlays of dozens of billions zlotys that would be spent precisely on environmental protection, because steel-industry people love pure water from the spigot more than anyone else.

Such is the supposed dialogue, such are the supposed expressions of concern, as if the word "parochialism" had ceased to exist a couple of years ago. There arose a two-variant program for expanding the steel plant, a program that continues to hang over the heads of the Wroclaw municipal authorities, which presupposes a marked expansion of output and hence also the annexation of additional land for this purpose — a trifle of something like 12 hectares, including land under a new dump.

The quality of drinking water in Wroclaw is poor; the dust from the steel plant's smokestacks settles on land within a radius of 2 km, meaning that it settles on aquiferous land, with toxic compounds percolating into the soil — the content of chromium, e.g., exceeds the permissible limit by a factor of 55.

Protests by many constituencies, supported by findings of studies and by articles in not only Wroclaw press have probably, however, promoted common sense: can we afford such a big investment shock project? Will those billions to be spent on environmental protection produce the desired effects? After all, the steel plant had installed dust purification facilities, but they never worked right. On the one hand, the apprehensions are growing and on the other there is the growing desire to leap at that Christmas tree of investment funds in the hope that once the funds are here something can be done somehow....

In effect, the expansion (read: construction) of the steel plant is being deleted from the central plan [i.e., transferred to the jurisdiction of Wroclaw Voivodship]. As astutely stated by J. Salecki in TRYBUNA LUDU, the Council of Ministers was probably misled by the supporters of the investment project.... Now that the Siechnice Steel Plant has become a local instead of a central investment project, it was discussed at the forum of the voivodship people's council. The arguments were as follows: if there is a collision between economic and environmental interests, the choice must be made in favor of human health, of a glass of safe drinking water. As for chromium, it may be everywhere around the steel plant but fortunately it still is not in the water. In the event of extremely poor weather, however, the chromium may enter the water. The responsibility borne by the local authorities for public health bids considering this worst-case scenario. That is why a rapid elimination of the slag dump, followed by the shutdown of the plant, which is increasingly coating the landscape with white dust, is such an urgent matter. That dust is covering trees, roofs, land.

So then, is the plant going to be shutdown or is the steel-industry lobby going to conceive some new stratagem for improving environmental protection in its own way?

1386

CSO:2600/462

## CIVIC MILITIA LAW AMENDMENTS CONSIDERED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jan 87 p 5

[Article by w1 : "The Project for Updating the ORMO Law"]

[Text] The law concerning the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia [ORMO] has been in effect for 20 years. Though its fundamental premises are still current, the socio-political changes during the last few years have necessitated the use of many solutions in connection with them.

The government project to update the ORMO Law had been under consideration on 20 January by representatives from two Sejm commissions: one for the Administration of Internal Affairs and the Dispensing of Justice, and the other for Legislative Undertakings.

The main premises of the new law were presented by Gen Zbigniew Pudysz, undersecretary of state in the Internal Affairs Ministry. He stressed that the direction and scope of the changes had the goal of more fully socializing the functioning of the ORMO and to adapt its organizational structures to present needs. This was necessitated specifically by the law about the system of national councils and territorial self-government, and the deep democratization of public life in the nation. The proposed changes in the law include the ORMO organizational structure, the status and composition of its social committees, the powers of the internal affairs minister, the national councils' control over the organization's activities, equipping the units with the means of direct force.

During the discussion, the representatives, without questioning the necessity for updating the law, expressed some doubts in relation to some of the solutions. "Why," asked representative Zofia Kaczor (non-party), "is it that the minister for internal affairs and not the echelon supervisory organ has the right to override the decisions of the social committees. Is ORMO to be a social or a branch organization?" "ORMO is an organization with a social and a protective character," stated another representative. "Is it necessary for it to have the means for direct force?"

From another point of view, in the opinion of the representatives many of whom had met earlier with ORMO members, the projected law will not create an

attractive incentive, especially to young people, for entry into the ranks of this organization.

Vice-minister Z. Pudysz, in answering the representatives' questions, explained, among other things, that matters having to do with the protection of public safety and order were given to the minister of internal affairs by the law, then it is logical to assume that this gives him the appropriate powers in relation to the organization functioning in this area.

"ORMO is chiefly a social organization," explained Dr Orlowska from the Interior Affairs Ministry. These are the intentions of the creators of the new law, and these are expressed through, among other things, the creation of the leadership organs of this organization. In the first half of 1986 the organization had 318,000 members. The highest membership was noted in December 1980, with 451,000 members.

The representatives created a sub-commission which is to study in detail the project for the new law, taking into consideration the above mentioned comments.

The deliberations were led by representative Jerzy Jaskiernia (PZPR).

Participating in the discussion were the following representatives: Marian Musial (PZPR), Wacław Wojciechowski (PZPR), Jerzy Wojciak (SD [Democratic Party]), Klemens Michalik (PZPR), Emilia Pogonowska-Jucha (ZSL [United Peasant Party]), Elzbieta Gacek (PZPR), Stanisław Zelichowski (ZSL), Jan Wilczek (PZPR), Stanisław Partyla (ZSL).

12411

CSO: 2600/486



## PROSECUTOR ROLE IN CIVIL RIGHTS DOCUMENTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jan 87 p 5

[Article by Z. Sem. : "The Prosecutor's Job Is Not Only to Accuse"]

[Text] From the analysis of recent surveys conducted by the Center for Sampling Public Opinion it appears that in the opinion of most of the population the public prosecutor is someone who, first, is a person who accuses defendants before the court and attempts to prove the accused's guilt. However, the prosecutor's participation in the various phases of the judicial process is but a part of the activities of this department. This is important, but surely it is not most important. What are his other activities? What is their social significance?

An important part of the prosecutor's job is the enforcement of regulation among various governmental departments, institutions, and organizations. Often actions are started because of appeals from citizens, requests from governmental bodies or the mass media, and they often lead to changes, settlement, or one of the parties backing down from its previous position. Just in 1986 prosecutors examined over 77,000 administration decisions, 26,000 pronouncements by colleges for matters of lawbreaking, over 5,000 files general in character issued by the administrative organs. A large amount of this control work was directly connected with the protection of civil rights. In over 24,000 instances the effect was some form of intervention by the prosecutor's office, and 80 percent of these ended successfully.

Another area of activity for this office, often very important from the viewpoint of protecting the average citizen's interests, is the participation of the prosecutor in deliberations over civil disagreements. Most often he becomes involved in matters connected with protecting the family, children, indigent persons, and those harmed by lawbreakers. He participates in cases seeking to obtain power of attorney, where his duty is to assure the civil and property rights of persons who are unable to manage their interests independently.

The statistics dealing with the civic activities of prosecutors during the last year are extremely rich. They show among other things, that prosecutors filed 1,454 motions for the protection of citizens' property rights, and

participated in 466 cases of this type filed by interested persons. Family matters were the subject of 3,448 motions by prosecutors, 3,397 were requests for starting mediation outside the court. In 4,399 cases the prosecutors became involved in family dispute cases already under the courts' consideration. This same category includes a large part of extraordinary reviews by the prosecutor general of the PRL.

Let us return to criminal matters. The belief that the prosecutor is always the opponent of the perpetrator or the accused during the legal process is inaccurate. The facts testify otherwise, in 12 percent of cases given over to extraordinary review the outcome was decided in favor of the convicted person by the PRL's prosecutor general.

12411

CSO: 2600/486

## EXPERT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL EDUCATION CALLED

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 24 Feb 87 pp 1,6

[Interview with Professor Czeslaw Rupisiewicz by PAP: "A New Diagnosis of National Education is Needed" surtitled "Purposes and Tasks of the Committee of Experts Appointed by the Prime Minister"]

[Text] Warsaw (PAP). "What are the purposes and tasks of the Committee of National Education Experts recently appointed by the Prime Minister, considering that the findings of the 1973 Report on the Status of Education, of which incidentally you were a coauthor, remain topical to this day?" This question was asked of the chairman of that Committee, Professor at Warsaw University, and Active Member of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] Czeslaw Rupisiewicz, by a PAP reporter.

[Answer] In the Committee's tentative plan of work we stressed that our primary aim is to draft a longrange concept of the development of national education upon taking into consideration -- this being a phrase I wish to particularly emphasize -- the report by Jan Szczepanski.

The second aim of the Committee will be to assess the current state of the educational system, including the university system, continuing education, and correspondence schools. We thus respect the methodological principles announced by the previous Committee, including the principle of viewing educational problems so as to allow for extra-educational factors conditioning these problems, and also the principle of considering several different models; furthermore, we share the view that investments in education are highly profitable; we are convinced that highly qualified and competent teachers who are properly appreciated by the society are decisive to -- let me use here the language employed at the 10th PZPR Congress -- elevating the school to the rank of the supreme institution of the nation. We regard formal schooling as a highly important and even leading, but not the only one, form of instructional and pedagogical influence on children, youth, and adults. Lastly, we believe that the internal methodological-organizational reforms of the school system themselves improve its effectiveness little unless external influencing factors are significantly changed. This list of general findings can of course be continued, but space does not permit it. We shall try to preserve in their entirety the creative accomplishments of the previous Committee.

However, nearly 24 years have elapsed since the publication of the report on the status of the educational system in the PRL [People's Republic of Poland]. I need not prove that much has changed since then in the world and in our country. So far as education is concerned, the school "explosion" in the 1960's (manifesting itself in the unprecedented growth of secondary school and university enrollment) has affected education throughout the world; ambitious attempts at and even projects for so-called global educational reforms aimed at a structural and curriculum-methodological revamping of schools have been abandoned, and outlays on education have declined.

In our own country, despite the noteworthy accomplishments in the secondary and higher education of our society, we are dealing with an acute shortage of schools and educational facilities. We are short of qualified teachers, and we have not succeeded in improving rural education markedly. All this necessitates a reassessment, a new diagnosis, of our educational system. It is likely that this diagnosis will point to a need for revising the present system of schooling and higher education and hence also for drafting a development concept consonant with the social and economic realities. Our aim is to make that concept free of the mistakes that had characterized, e.g., the 1973 school reform when the postulated aims were not accompanied by preparing the conditions and resources needed to accomplish them.

1386

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## OPINION SURVEY ON YOUTH ATTITUDES REPORTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Feb 87 p 6

[Article by (B.Dr.): "The Young Talk About Themselves" surtitled "Inequality in School; Better and Worse Parents; Success Without Making a Career" with the top surtitle "From the CBOS [Center for Public Opinion Surveys]"]

[Text] (P) "Youth Talks About Itself and Its Future" -- under this slogan the CBOS had polled 1,190 secondary and vocational school seniors.

The respondents were asked to name the problems they consider most important personally and to Polish youth in general. In the first group of answers, completion of school and passing the matura ["baccalaureate"] examinations as well as career and workplace choices were most often mentioned. Less often mentioned were, in this order, housing, establishing a family, and achieving suitable living standards.

In the second group of answers -- to the question of the problems of Polish youth in general -- major public issues such as peace, the country's political and economic situation, and the problems of youth in making a start in life were most often mentioned.

The poll also asked what are the most frequent causes of conflicts and divisions among the young. The answers pointed most often to the socio-occupational status of parents -- their material position, membership in the PZPR, nature of work, job status, and educational background. Views presented by the young ggaz to attitude toward faith and religious practices were less often named by respondents as causes of conflicts.

The next question was, "Do teachers treat and grade equally all students in the the classroom, or do they treat them differently depending on the identity of the student's parents?" Only one-half of the respondents agreed that teachers treat equally all students in the classroom. Thirty percent were partially positive ("Sometimes yes, and sometimes no"), and about one-sixth of the respondents felt that the manner in which students were treated in their classes negates the principle of equal treatment. "Teachers always treat some students better than others, others worse, depending on who the parents are."

The poll also included a question intended to identify the status of the parents of students receiving better or worse treatment. The responses revealed two hierarchies: the first contains teachers and their acquaintances in the educational system as well as plant directors and individuals holding high positions, followed by the intelligentsia (physicians, engineers, others), influential persons that can be of help, and wealthy individuals and private entrepreneurs.

The parents of the students treated less well are, first of all, blue-collar workers, followed by farmers, ordinary simple people holding run-of-the-mill jobs and unable to be of help, and, lastly, in the fourth place, persons with a low status and educational background, poorly situated and poverty-stricken.

The young people also were asked (the fourth question) to define success in life. Nearly 29 percent of the students defined it as a successful and happy family life and having friends. Every fourth respondent viewed success as having a high income, an apartment, and other material boons. Likewise every fourth respondent viewed success as satisfying his occupational or professional interests by holding an interesting job. It is symptomatic that only 6 percent of the respondents defined success as pursuing a career, that is, holding an executive position.

1386

CSO: 2600/482

## PZPR PRESS UNIT BEMOANS LACK OF INFORMATION, INFLUENCE

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 2, Feb 87 pp 26-27

[Unattributed report: "The Second Stage"]

[Text] In December 1986 in Warsaw was held the reports-elections conference of the PZPR Committee at the Contemporary Publishing House [Wydawnictwo Wspolczesne] of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch RSW [Workers Publishing Cooperative]. We have reported on this event in the Chronicle. But we believe that the materials prepared for that conference merit special attention, especially by journalists. Below we reprint an excerpt from the program document of that Committee which contains an assessment of the situation of the journalistic community that may be helpful to understanding the processes occurring in our profession, not only at the Contemporary Publishing House and not only in Warsaw.

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1. The staff of the Contemporary Publishing House welcome hopefully the attempts of the central elements of the party to remodel propaganda and desire to take an active part in them. In addition, we too want to convince our readers that propaganda also is being reformed under socialism, that it is no longer rooted in the old extensive system of habits and stereotypes, of schematic-agitational "appeals and manifestations," and that instead it is catching up with, or may even be capable of leading, social changes. We want to convince the reader that at present propaganda, too, together with the mass media, to which it should be bound by dialectical ties -- i.e., not by identifying with them, but not by opposing them either -- is entering the second stage of the reform. By the second stage of the reform of propaganda we mean chiefly the adaptation of the form, content, and techniques of the mass media to the actual but real needs of the authorities, expectations of the society, and aspirations of the journalists themselves.

2. An important step on this road would be invigorating the process of public participation in the mass media, that is, promoting the autonomy of all the elements of the institutional opinionmaking centers, beginning with journalists and ending with publishing houses.

This will require an essential reevaluation of at least two relationships -- the fundamental relationship between the authorities and the society, and the relationship between the authorities and the mass media. "The authorities" are to be primarily construed as the administration -- state and political, economic and self-government administration, while the mass media are to be construed chiefly, though not exclusively, as journalists.

The discussion at the 10th PZPR Congress mentioned the right of the journalist to form his own opinions, that is the autonomy of the journalistic profession on its own merit. The right to such an autonomy should of course be exercised within the framework of the mandatory laws and specific mutual obligations linking various levels of the authorities with journalists.

But despite these restrictions there remains a broad field of action for personal and individual activities by journalists. Unfortunately, that "field" is yet to be intensively "cultivated." The reasons for this are due not only to the authorities but also to journalists themselves, who often expect someone else to resolve this issue for them and broaden that field for them, offer the implements, and get everything ready for them and then invite them.

3. The causes of this situation are several, but the principal one lies in the still persisting orientation of propaganda in general, and of certain mass media in particular, toward the authorities rather than toward the readership, the tendency of journalists to focus on the desires and ideas of the client rather than the addressee. As a result, we obtain merchandise satisfactory to the "owner," not so satisfactory to the "producer," and least satisfactory to the "user."

This is linked to another tendency -- the excessive readiness to cater to sudden needs of party echelons and various state agencies. Propaganda and the mass media should primarily "service" the longrange program of the PZPR and the policies of the state, the basic directions and the main resolutions, rather than particular decisions and their personal interpretations. This also is directly linked to a definitely greater differentiation of press titles, television programs, publishing houses, etc. Editorial teams should be also evaluated according to of the whole of their activities rather than of individual articles, television broadcasts, etc., on the basis of chiefly qualitative criteria of merit and ideas, so as to make that evaluation no longer biased in the direction of sudden situations and the subjective tastes and personal motives of the evaluators.

In addition, an end should be finally put to the exploitative treatment of press criticism. Press criticism is neither a safety valve nor a kind of concession to the society. It cannot be hemmed in by any qualifiers (e.g., "creative," "constructive," "concrete," "made from just positions," etc.). Criticism is an organic need of socialism, and it should be treated only as such in the socialist state.

In the coming and still complex conditions in which the line of reconciliation and reform and of reconciliation and struggle with "the old" as well, will be pursued, it is indispensable for editorial staffs to operate on the basis of not superficial assessments and information but thorough analyses as well as



complete knowledge about the tactics, plans, and intentions of all political, social, and economic institutions. For in the present propaganda practice we meet with two opposed tendencies: shortage of information and surplus of information. Both the surplus and the shortage of information are partially of a relative nature.. Unfortunately, the complaint about the shortage of information is essentially a complaint about the absence of interpretation of that information. Hence, poor journalism may be regarded in the same category as shoddy work. It should not be supposed that so-called good intentions can be an alibi for poor execution. But in order to improve form, without which there is no content, the authority of masters of the journalistic profession should be elevated and instances of obstruction of the work of creative individuals and emphasis on the mediocre should be eliminated.

The PZPR Committee at the Contemporary Publishing House feels dutybound to take a position on the employment policies concerning journalists, their advanced professional training, the encouragement of gifted individuals, and the promotion of the Press and its social influence.

1. There is an evident shortage of young people in senior positions at all levels, in every element of propaganda: in publishing houses, editorial teams, party organizations.

The events of 1980-1981 revealed with special emphasis how dangerous it is to underestimate this problem. The absence of a tangible reaction of the party echelons to signals from, among others, our basic party organizations within the journalistic community concerning the [age] composition of that community is particularly disturbing when we consider that we want to enter upon that second stage of the reform. This precisely is causing the emergence of a kind of intergenerational gap of stillness, within our community as well.

2. Attempts at advanced training of journalists organized by the Training Center of the Main Board of the RSW do not so far enjoy recognition and are not producing tangible results. Hence, learning on the job, that is, learning by writing, as well as learning from exchange of thoughts within the editorial team and the basic party organization, and also learning from the accomplishment of specific substantive professional and political tasks, has to be regarded as the principal form of the professional growth of the young journalist. In this connection, the atmosphere reigning within editorial teams and the rhythm of the ideological-moral life of our basic party organizations and the general party organization within the publishing community acquire essential importance.

This situation causes the basic party organizations and editorial teams to shoulder the burden of organizing such forms of training and such information systems as are consonant with the specificity and orientation of discrete dailies and periodicals and the actual needs and interests of the team.

3. Changes on the Press market require a thorough analysis of the situation; the economic factor (profits) alone cannot be decisive to the existence of a daily or a periodical, as otherwise this would cause grave harm to the party. This also concerns the new Press prices. First, this reduces readership and second, this may cause competing dailies and periodicals to follow the line of

the least resistance, i.e., cater to primitive tastes, in pursuit of higher circulation. Both factors ultimately restrict the possibilities for the influence of socialist ideas on the society.

4. The journalistic community is particularly sensitized to the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the party and of its central elements. This sensitivity is all the greater considering that we still encounter instances of disregard of the opinion of our community and of the mother party organization, instances of an exploitative treatment of basic party organizations within that community. Opinions of this kind have been voiced repeatedly in personal talks prior to the 10th Congress. That is why the reportorial staff of the Contemporary Publishing House, including the party members, demand that the "Main Assumptions of the Cadres Policy of the PZPR" be respected also at the Contemporary Publishing House. This concerns also the right of the basic party organizations to receive information on reasons why particular individuals are recalled from "nomenklatura" [executive] positions, as well as their right to opine on these positions and recommend candidates for them. This also is the principle that should apply when deciding on the awarding of decorations.

5. The PZPR Committee at the Contemporary Publishing House, which is the largest party publishing house in Poland, has at its disposal considerable intellectual potential and could, on condition of complete integration of the community, become a factor inspiring and enriching the information-and-propaganda activities of the entire party. So far, our community has been incompletely utilized and its members continue to feel that decisions important to us are being made at the level of the [central] party and administrative apparatus. Yet, the benefits of our work could have been greater than they are at present, considering that currently the Contemporary Publishing House is undergoing virtually radical changes despite the so-called objective unfavorable circumstances hampering the modernization of facilities and working conditions (computerization, activation of modern printing technologies, two different wage agreements).

6. The PZPR statute confers broad powers on basic party organizations. But it has to be considered that the specific nature of editorial work complicates the exercise of these powers. Here much depends on the attitude of senior editors, but also on the postulates posed to them by party echelons.

The activism of basic party organizations may manifest itself in a twofold form: 1) instrumentally, as an additional disciplining factor and one promoting the fulfillment of the projects of the senior editors; 2) autonomically, creatively, as a factor inspiring and enriching the activities of the editorial team. The goal to be pursued is that latter model, which is, though, achieved not by formal delegation of powers (which should not be overestimated) but by the "power" of the contributions of the basic party organization to the work of the editorial team. And this seems decisive to the authority and position of the basic party organization within an editorial team and of the party committee within the Contemporary Publishing House.

The Propaganda Department under the PZPR Central Committee should, in view of this, maintain direct contacts with not only senior editors but also basic party organizations and the opinionmakers among publicists and journalists.

## PRESS, PERSONNEL CHANGES, MEDIA DEVELOPMENTS FEBRUARY 1987

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 2, Feb 87, pp 55-59

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Excerpts] 1 Dec

-- Antoni Faron was appointed editor-in-chief of DZIENNIK ZACHODNI and recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of WIECZOR.

-- Jan Wsolek was appointed editor-in-chief of DZIENNIK POLSKI.

-- The first issue of the new quarterly SZTUKA LUDOWA came out; it is published by the Association of Folk Artists. This national periodical sets itself as an aim propagating various forms and contents of folk arts.

2 Dec

-- In Warsaw was held a session of the Press Council. The application of principles of the economic reform to the press, radio, and television was discussed. Attention was drawn to the need to modernize the obsolete facilities of press agencies, radio, and television, to streamline the information system, and to provide printing plants with up-to-date printing machinery. The prevention of the growing technology gap requires quick action and financial assistance. The Council devoted considerable attention to the living conditions and salaries of the journalistic community.

4 Dec

The weekly FOLKS-SZTYME, the organ of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland, published in Polish and Yiddish, celebrated its 40th anniversary. On the occasion, members of its editorial team met in Srodzborow near Warsaw with representatives of the institutions and organizations cooperating with the periodical. Editor-in-Chief of FOLKS-SZTYME Adam Kwaterko recalled that the periodical appeared immediately after the war, which had caused tremendous devastation and the death of many millions of people throughout the world, including nearly the entire Jewish community in Poland. Thus, the general policy of the periodical is chiefly to counteract manifestations of racism, fascism, and anti-Semitism, and to struggle for peace.

During the ceremony, deserving associates of the periodical were honored with state decorations. The Chevalier's Cross of the Order of Poland's Rebirth was awarded to Barbara Herman and Jehoszul Piasek, and the Silver Cross of Merit to Renata Koscielniak.

6 Dec

-- In the Belvedere was held the founding meeting of the Advisory Council under the Chairman of the Council of State. The 56-member Advisory Council includes two journalists: Editor Waldemar Rudnik and Editor Ryszard Wojna.

Dec

-- Jacek Marczynski was appointed editor-in-chief of RAZEM and recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of that periodical.

10 Dec

-- Stanislaw Cwik was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of RAZEM and recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of WALKA MLODYCH.

15 Dec

-- Zdzislaw Jastrzebski was appointed editor-in-chief of KUJAWY.

-- Ignacy Krasicki was appointed the Madrid correspondent of TRYBUNA LUDU.

-- Tadeusz Pasierbinski was recalled from the post of the Athens correspondent of TRYBUNA LUDU.

-- Witold Wisniewski was appointed editor-in-chief of GAZETA MLODYCH.

16 Dec

-- Zbigniew Szumera was appointed editor-in-chief of KRONIKA--DOKUMENTACJA PRASOWA and recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of GAZETA MLODYCH.

-- In Moscow at the seat of the USSR Journalists' Union was opened the exhibition "Masters of Polish Photoreportage," consisting of 400 "photograms" representing recent major achievements of Polish photoreporters. The authors of the photographs are: Maciej Billewicz, Leopold Dzikowski, Leszek Pidusiewicz, Krzysztof Gieraltowski, Aleksander Jasinski, Damazy Kwiatkowski, Stanislaw Ossowski, Grzegorz Roginski, Ireneusz Sobieszczuk, Miroslaw Stepniak, Krzysztof Wojciewski, and Zenon Zyburtowicz.

The exhibition was organized by the USSR Journalists' Union, the PRL [People's Republic of Poland] Journalists' Union, and the PRL Embassy in Moscow.



17 Dec

-- In Warsaw Minister Benon Miskiewicz conferred awards on journalists for presenting and propagating the achievements of science and higher education. The awards were received by: Janina Paradowska of ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Magda Ruska of SZTANDAR MŁODYCH, Tadeusz Balerski of PAP, Antoni Kowalik of RZECZPOSPOLITA, Bogumil Kurylczyk of STUDENT, and Andrzej Skrzypczak of TRYBUNA LUDU.

18 Dec

-- In Warsaw was held a meeting of the Board of the Youth Affairs Club under the PRL Journalists' Union with First Secretary of the USSR Embassy Aleksandr Oskin. The discussion centered on the possibilities for broadening contacts between Polish and Soviet journalists who deal with problems of youth, and on the directions and forms of cooperation promoting a broader presentation of the principal issues concerning the rising generation in the Polish and Soviet press.

19 Dec

-- Henryk Urbanowski was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of WALKA MŁODYCH.

-- In the Warsaw House of the Journalist the Polonia Club of the PRL Journalists' Union organized a meeting with Editor Andrzej Chiczewski, author of television films and longtime Club activist. Andrzej Chiczewski showed his three films about the American Polonia, produced in cooperation with Zbigniew Piószowski and Pawel Minkiewicz: "Silesians in Texas," "In Defense of America," and "Doers and Dreamers."

-- In Warsaw the annual awards of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions for publicizing the problems of trade unions were distributed to journalists.

The awards were received by: Romana Kalecka and Piotr Moczar of Polish Press Agency, Teresa Grabczyńska of TRYBUNA LUDU, Danuta Dydkowska of Polish Radio, and Danuta Sielska of ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

31 Dec

-- Zofia Długosz was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of KOBIEȚA I ZYCIE.

-- Wacław Piatkowski was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of RZECZYWISTOŚĆ.

-- Barbara Sobanska was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of MAGAZYN POLSKI.

-- Mieczysław Rog-Swistek was recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of CHŁOPSKA DROGA.

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## PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDARS FOR FEBRUARY 1987

Calendar 2-15 February 1987

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, 25 Feb 87 p 19

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 2-15 February 1987"]

[Text] Sessions of the Central Committee Politburo:

3 Feb

-- The Politburo evaluated the course and results of the post-congress campaign within the party.

-- The Politburo approved the resolutions of the recent Warsaw conference of secretaries for international and ideological affairs at the central committees of the fraternal parties, and it recommended to appropriate departments of the PZPR Central Committee the full implementation of the adopted resolutions.

Conferences and Meetings:

2 Feb

-- The Central Committee's Commission for Proposals, Complaints, and Signals from the Population listened to a report on the performance of the system for the reception of complaints and on the substance of the letters sent to the Sejm, the Council of State, the Office of the Council of Ministers, and the Radio and TV Committee. The organization and approach to the handling of complaints by party echelons and organizations were considered. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Alfred Miodowicz and Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla.

-- The Main Board of the SD [Democratic Party] held a plenary session to discuss preparations for the Second Congress of the SD. The session was attended by Director of the Propaganda Department under the PZPR Central Committee Jozef Barecki.

5 Feb

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski received activists from the Group for Public and Scientific Initiatives under the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] attached to the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences]. The meeting was attended by Director of the Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress Department under the Central Committee Boguslaw Kedzia.

6 Feb

-- The Editorial Council of NOWE DROGI held a session chaired by Jozef Czyrek. It was attended by Gabriela Rembisz and Henryk Bednarski. A report on the periodical's performance following the 10th Congress and on this year's goals of the editorial staff was considered. A working program for celebrating the 40th anniversary of NOWE DROGI was also adopted. On the occasion of the anniversary, First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski directed a letter of congratulations to the editorial team.

7 Feb

-- A party-professional conference was held at the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare to discuss the program "Health for All in the Year 2000." It was attended by Director of the Socio-Occupational Department under the Central Committee Maciej Lubczynski.

9 Feb

-- The leadership of the Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture discussed the movement's tasks following the Fifth National Congress of the Society. Participating in the deliberations were Director of the Ideology Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc and Minister-Director of the Office for Religious Affairs Adam Lopatka.

10 Feb

-- The following members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee met with workforces of at the following plants and factories: Zdzislaw Messner, at the Ozarow Cable Factory; Kazimierz Barcikowski, at the Aleksandrow State Farm Combine, Poznan Voivodship; Jozef Baryla, at the Chelm Footwear Factory; Zygmunt Muranski, at the Cotton Industry Plants and at the PRZYJAZN Spinning Mill in Zawiercie; Tadeusz Porebski, at the Electronic Apparatus Plant of the POLON United Nuclear Equipment Plants in Warsaw; Zofia Stepien, at the Felted Board Works in Czestochowa Voivodship; Stanislaw Hajger, at the Gdansk Construction Combine; Bogumil Ferensztajn, at the POLIPIA-MALWA Cosmetics Factory in Swietochlowice; Gabriela Rembisz, at the Poznan Ball Bearings Plant; Kazimierz Cypryniak, at the Glass Tare Plant in Jaroslaw.

11 Feb

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek met with a group of Polish journalists specializing in Soviet affairs and Polish-Soviet relations, as well as with Soviet correspondents accredited in Warsaw. USSR Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov, who was also present, shared his reflections on the course of the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, discussing its most important results.

-- At the Office of the Council of Ministers was held a party-organization conference attended by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner. Tasks of the in-house party organization in the light of the resolution of the Third Central Committee Plenum were discussed, as was the government's implementation of the tasks of the 10th Party Congress. Attending the conference was Director of the Economic Department under the Central Committee Marek Holdakowski.

-- A party-organization conference was held at the Ministry of Justice with the participation of chairmen of voivodship courts and first secretaries of basic party organizations within these courts. The ministry's tasks in the light of the resolutions of the 10th PLIR Congress were discussed. The deliberations were attended by Director of the Socio-Agricultural Department under the Central Committee Andrzej Gdula and Minister of Justice Lech Doneracki.

-- At the Council of State was held a conference of chairmen of voivodship commissions for state decorations. Long-range policies for awarding decorations were discussed. Attending the conference was Director of the Cadres Policy Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Horkeiz.

12 Feb

-- The Ideology Commission under the Central Committee discussed the shaping of the attitudes of party members and their influence on the society. Its deliberations were chaired by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Jednanski.

-- A party-organization conference was held within the PAN to discuss the implementation of the tasks facing Polish science. It was attended by Director of the Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress Department under the Central Committee Boguslaw Kadzia.

13 Feb

-- At the Ministry of Science and Higher Education the implementation of tasks ensuing to higher education from the resolution of the 24th Central Committee Plenum was discussed. The meeting was attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Korabinski and by Director of the Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress Department under the Central Committee Boguslaw Kadzia.



#### At Party Echoes and Organizations:

5 Feb

— The Krosno Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organization in implementing the 1987 Socioeconomic Plan.

— The Pila Voivodship PZPR Committee examined this year's socioeconomic tasks contained in the annual voivodship plan.

10 Feb

— The Chelm Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organization as ensuing from the resolution of the Third Central Committee Plenum. Organizationally, the committee relieved Alojzy Zieliński of the post of its first secretary, in connection with his transfer to the post of director of the Intra-Party Administration Department under the Central Committee. Stefan Lyczak, previously a voivodship party committee secretary, was elected the new first secretary. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla.

— The Tarnow Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed tasks of the community and local cultural institutions in shaping socialist awareness. The deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski.

11 Feb

-- At Gorzow Wielkopolski was held a conference of the ideological aktiv attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

14 Feb

-- The Konin Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed the implementation of the conservation, production quality improvement, and technical progress program at enterprises of the voivodship.

— The Olsztyn Voivodship PZPR Committee examined the voivodship's tasks in attaining socio-economic targets for 1987.

-- In Zamosc was held a joint plenum of the PZPR voivodship committee and ZSL [United Peasant Party] voivodship committees. An efficient utilization of the production potential of Zamosc's agriculture was discussed. The deliberations were attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Zbigniew Michalek and Secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee Kazimierz Oleciak.

#### Interparty Cooperation:

[no date given] Poland was visited by a delegation of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, headed by Member of the Politburo of the YSP Central Committee Mohammed Saeed Abdullah. The delegation held talks with the Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Jozef Czerwinski and Jozef Baryla and Director of Foreign Department under the Central Committee Ernest Kucma.

12 Feb

— While sojourning in Moscow to attend the meeting of agriculture secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties of CEMA countries, Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Zbigniew Michalek met with the party-occupational aktiv of Polish missions to the USSR.

Calendar 16 February-1 March 1987

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 5, 11 Mar 87 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 16 February—1 March 1987"]

[Text] Sessions of the Politburo:

17 Feb

The Politburo:

— discussed the role of workforce self-governments and their participation in fulfilling the resolution of the Third Central Committee Plenum;

-- examined the work on drafting the decree on public consultations and referendums;

-- considered problems of the publishing industry and the program for the esthetic education of children and youth;

-- responded attentively and with full support to the portentous peaceful nature of the address delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Moscow International Peace Forum.

24 Feb

The Politburo:

— evaluated last year's activities of Worker-Peasant Inspection Teams (IRCh) and considered the results of IRCh inspections carried out during the fourth quarter of 1986 at social welfare centers and institutions;

— performed its regular monthly assessment of the implementation of tasks of accelerating qualitative changes in the economy as outlined by the resolution of the Third Central Committee Plenum;

— discussed the implementation of provisions of the Decree on Social Security for Private Farmers and Their Families.

## Conferences and Meetings:

16 Feb

-- The Central Committee's Commission for Law, Legality, and Moral Health discussed the results of consultations on the assumptions of the concept of the organizational-legal institution of the spokesmen for citizens' rights; examined the crime statistics for 1986; and examined the performance of Worker-Peasant Inspection Teams and the proposed amendments of the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia] Decree. The deliberations were chaired by Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek.

17 Feb

-- In Serock near Warsaw was held a briefing-and-discussion meeting of the chairmen of national trade-union organizations on the subject of the principal socioeconomic and political problems of our country. It was attended by Politburo Member and OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz and Director of the Socio-Legal Department under the Central Committee Andrzej Gdula.

18 Feb

-- The Central Committee's Maritime Commission discussed the tasks of the maritime economy in 1987 in the light of the resolution of the Third Central Committee plenum. The deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo Stanislaw Bejger.

-- The "October Relay Race" of youth was inaugurated. The ceremony was attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski and Director of the Youth, Physical Culture, and Tourism Department under the Central Committee Jerzy Swiderski.

19 Feb

-- At the Office for Religious Affairs was held a party-organization conference attended by directors of departments for religious affairs and attended by Director of the Socio-Legal Department under the Central Committee Andrzej Gdula.

20 Feb

-- The second session of the Party-Government Commission for Reviewing and Modernizing the Organizational Structures of the Economy and the State was held. Draft theses for shaping organizational structures in the national economy were considered and the status of the job reviews and certifications at enterprises was discussed. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak.

-- Politburo Member and Minister of National Defense Army General Florian Siwicki received the Commander of the Northern Army Group of the Soviet Army Lieutenant General Ivan Korbutov.

-- At the CKKR [Central Party Control and Audit Commission] was held a meeting to discuss cooperation between control and audit commissions and agencies of state and social control as well as law-enforcement and administration-of-justice agencies. The meeting was chaired by CKKR Vice Chairman Tadeusz Nowicki.

21 Feb

-- At the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Art the Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee met with first secretaries of 3,500 basic party organizations representing the 137,000-member Warsaw party organization. Tasks of basic party organizations relating to preparations for the Fourth Central Committee Plenum were discussed. The meeting was chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz. The concluding address was delivered by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski. The meeting was also attended by Politburo Member and CKKR [Central Party Control and Audit Commission] Chairman Włodzimierz Mokrzyński and Deputy Prime Minister Manfred Gorywoda.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski met with deserving youth-movement activists working at the Main Commission for the History of the Youth Movement under the Governing Board of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth].

23 Feb

-- The Central Committee's Commission for Family Affairs considered at its first session the material and social situation of large and single-parent families. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Zofia Stepien.

25 Feb

-- On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of NOWE DROGI First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the editorial team of this theoretical and political organ of the party. The meeting was attended by Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Józef Czyrek and Jan Glowczyk and Director of the Propaganda Department under the Central Committee Józef Borecki.

-- At the Office of the Council of Ministers was held the inaugural session of the Committee of Experts in National Education. Certificates of appointment were handed to Committee members by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski was present.

-- At the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences was held a graduation ceremony for doctoral and habilitational students. The ceremony, in which the Academy's Rector Jarema Maciszewski took part, was attended by Central Committee Secretary Professor Henryk Bednarski.



26 Feb

-- The Presidium of the CKKR [Central Party Control and Audit Commission] considered the results of studies, conducted by CKKR control teams, of the role of basic party organizations and local party echelons in counteracting unfavorable occurrences in plants and factories. It also considered reports on the activities and decisions of control and audit commissions in connection with the results of inspections by Worker-Peasant Inspection Teams. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and CKKR Chairman Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

-- Representatives of the journalistic community met with a group of members of the Warsaw Caucus of Sejm Deputies, headed by its chairman Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak. Problems of the journalistic community were discussed.

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

16 Feb

-- The Secretariat of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee met with PZPR Central Committee members from the voivodship in order to discuss the preparations of the voivodship party organization for the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. The meeting was chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee Bogumil Ferensztajn and attended by Politburo Member Zygmunt Murawski.

17 Feb

-- Members of several basic party organizations at the Szczecin-Swinoujście Port Authority held a joint meeting to discuss the Theses of the Politburo prior to the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. The meeting was attended by Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cyprianiak.

18 Feb

-- In Łódź, at the Museum of the History of the Worker Movement, was held a gala ceremony renaming it the Władysław Gomułka Museum. On the occasion, an exhibition on the life and activities of Władysław Gomułka was inaugurated.

20 Feb

-- In Legnica was held a joint session of the PZPR and ZSL [United Peasant Party] voivodship party committees to discuss problems of rural and agricultural development in the voivodship. Participating in the deliberations were Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Zbigniew Michalek and ZSL Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Olesiak.

-- Politburo Member and CKKR Chairman Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak took part in a session of the Warsaw PZPR Control and Audit Commission which was attended by local commissions. Tasks ensuing from the reports-election campaign within the Warsaw party organization were discussed.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz met with members of the National Council of Polish Veterans of the Soviet Army attached to the Main Board of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Army.

23 Feb

-- The Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee evaluated the fulfillment of socioeconomic tasks in 1986 and the 1987 plan. Its deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger and attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo Gabriela Rembisz.

-- The Lublin Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed the socioeconomic tasks of the voivodship in the light of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the Third Central Committee Plenum.

-- The Lomza Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed at a circuit session in Okoniowek the role of the party meeting in activating the work of basic party organizations.

27 Feb

-- The Bydgoszcz Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed methods and forms of activity of the basic and branch party organizations in implementing the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress. Its deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

-- The Radom Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed tasks of accelerating qualitative changes in the region's economy.

28 Feb

-- The Ciechanow Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organization in streamlining economic management and implementing the goals outlined by the Third Central Committee Plenum. The deliberations were attended by Director of the Propaganda Department under the Central Committee Jozef Barecki.

#### Interparty Cooperation:

[Undated] Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos were visited by a delegation of the Economic Department under the PZPR Central Committee headed by Deputy Department

Director Krzysztof Chinowski. The delegation was received in Hanoi, Phnom Penh, and Vientiane by secretaries of party central committees.

23 Feb

-- While sojourning in Moscow as head of the delegation of Polish trade unionists to the 18th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, Politburo Member and

OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz met with the party-occupational aktiv of Polish missions to the USSR. :

17-24 Feb

— Ethiopia was visited by a delegation of the PZPR Central Committee headed by Politburo Member and Minister of Internal Affairs Arms General Czeslaw Kiszczak. Concluding the visit, Czeslaw Kiszczak was received by Secretary General of the Revolutionary Party of Ethiopia Mengistu Haile Mariam.

27 Feb

— In Sofia was signed a protocol for cooperation during 1987-1988 between the Sofia Committee of the Bulgarian CP and the Warsaw PZPR Committee. The document was signed by first secretaries of both committees, Anastasiy Danchev and Candidate Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee Janusz Rubasiewicz. Janusz Rubasiewicz also met with Bulgarian CP Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Chudomir Aleksandrov.

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## PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR 2-15 MARCH 1987

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 6, 25 Mar 87 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle, 2-15 March 1987"]

[Text] 3 Mar

-- The Politburo discussed fundamental questions of ideological work relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the party program.

-- The Politburo adopted a plan of action for the period until the national conference of PZPR delegates, including the assumptions of the Fifth Central Committee Plenum dealing with ideological and political affairs.

-- The Politburo expressed its gratification over and support of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for the total elimination of American and European medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

Conferences and Meetings:

2 Mar

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received a delegation of the editorial staff of KOMMUNIST, theoretical-political periodical of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Collegium Member Professor E. N. Arab-Agly, during its sojourn in Poland at the invitation of NOWE DROGI.

4 Mar

-- The Presidium of the Central Committee's Commission for Proposals, Complaints, and Signals from the Population discussed the effectiveness of the solution of problems raised in complaints and suggestions from the population. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Alfred Miodowicz and also attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo Gabriela Rembisz.

-- A delegation of the Department for International Contacts under the Central Committee of the Chinese CP, headed by Candidate Member of the Central Committee and Deputy Department Director under the Chinese CP Central



Committee Shiuzheng, ended its visit to Poland. The delegation held talks at the Foreign Department under the PZPR Central Committee and met with Director of the Political-Organizational Department under the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Gabrielski. The delegation was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek in the presence of Director of the Foreign Department under the PZPR Central Committee Ernest Kucza.

5 Mar

-- The Commission for Science and Education under the Central Committee discussed the system for administering education and the preparations for applying further stages of the program reform to the supraelementary school system. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

-- In Warsaw was held a conference of the Polish-Soviet Commission for Cooperation in the Social Sciences Between the Polish Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences. Changes occurring in the USSR following the 27th CPSU Congress were discussed. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in the deliberations.

5-6 Mar

-- A conference of voivodship party committee secretaries for propaganda and culture was held under the chairmanship of Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski.

6 Mar

-- On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of POLITYKA the weekly's editorial team held a commemorative meeting which was attended by Jan Glowczyk, Zbigniew Michalek, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Jozef Barecki, Jerzy Urban, General Leslaw Wojtasik, and Wieslaw Rydygier.

-- Members of the Commission for Proposals, Complaints, and Signals from the Population resolved to receive petitioners on the first Friday of each month at Central Committee and voivodship committee offices. Friday 6 March was the first such day, and on it Central Committee members received several hundred petitioners.

-- A conference of voivodship committee secretaries for political and organizational affairs was held. The state of preparations for the Fourth Central Committee Plenum and the course so far of intraparty discussion of the Politburo's theses were discussed. The conference, chaired by Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak, also discussed the preparations for structural reviews and job certification within PZPR committees.

7 Mar

-- The Sejm Building was the site of a meeting in honor of the 60th birthday of Stanislaw Kania. First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Speaker of the Sejm Roman Malinowski

conveyed their congratulations and good wishes. Participating in the meeting were Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Baryla, Tadeusz Porebski, and Mieczysław Rakowski.

— Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski received the delegation of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, headed by its Vice President Liu Guoguang, during its sojourn in Poland.

9 Mar

— Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski met with the chairmen of the creative societies of sculptors and representatives of the sculptor community from several regions of the country.

10 Mar

— On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Czechoslovak-Polish friendship and cooperation treaty, the CSSR Embassy held a meeting attended by the Politburo members Kazimierz Barcikowski, Marian Wozniak, Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, and Florian Siwicki.

13 Mar

— The 4-day official visit of Chinese CP Central Committee Politburo Member, Member of the State Council, and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese People's Republic Wu Xueqian, made at the invitation of Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRL Marian Orzechowski, came to an end. During his visit, the Chinese guest was received by First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, Speaker of the Sejm Roman Malinowski, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak, and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Szalajda.

14 Mar

-- A study group of the Romanian CP Central Committee headed by Candidate Member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Bucharest City Romanian CP Committee Professor Nikolae Croitoru, ended a working visit to Poland. Concluding its stay, the delegation was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla in the presence of Director of the Cadres Policy Department under the Central Committee Władysław Honkisz.

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

2 Mar

— At the PIOMA Mining Machinery Factory in Piotrków Trybunalski was held a party meeting devoted to the role and tasks of the basic party organizations at that enterprise. The meeting was attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

6 Mar

— The Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed strengthening the role and importance of basic party organizations in the presence of 100 invited secretaries of basic and branch party organizations. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla.

9 Mar

-- Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski discussed problems of Polish foreign policy at a meeting with the political-economic aktiv in Katowice. The meeting was attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee Bogumil Ferensztajn.

-- The PZPR and the ZSL [United Peasant Party] voivodship committees in Wloclawek discussed at a joint session current tasks in the region's agriculture. Their deliberations were attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Zbigniew Michalek and Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee Kazimierz Olesiak.

13 Mar

— Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak met with the economic and sociopolitical aktiv of major enterprises of Sieradz Voivodship to discuss the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform. He also familiarized himself with working conditions at the Waterproof Materials Combine and the ZWOLTEX Cotton Industry Plants in Zdunska Wola.

14 Mar

-- The Kalisz Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed tasks of developing enterprise technologies and management. Its deliberations were attended by Director of the Agriculture Department under the Central Committee Kazimierz Grzesiak.

#### Interparty Cooperation:

1-4 Mar

— Libya was visited by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla, who attended the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's-Socialist Jamahiriya. Jozef Baryla was present at a session of the Libyan People's Congress and met with the Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. During his visit, Jozef Baryla met with the party and work aktiv of the crews of Polish enterprises operating in Libya.

-- Romania was visited by a delegation of the Culture Department under the Central Committee, headed by Deputy Department Director Zbigniew Domino. The delegation was received by Candidate Member of the Political Executive .pa Committee under the Central Committee, Central Committee Secretary Petru

Inache.

2-7 Mar

— Poland was visited by Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Israeli CP David Xhenin. During his visit he met with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek. He also held talks with the directors of the Foreign and Political-Organizational departments of the Central Committee, Ernest Kucza and Stanislaw Gabrielski.

6 Mar

— During its visit to Angola a PZPR Central Committee Delegation headed by Candidate Member of the Politburo Stanislaw Bejger held talks at the MPLA-PT Central Committee with the Angolan delegation, which was headed by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Maria Mambo Cafe. An agreement for cooperation between the PZPR and the MPLA-PT central committees and a plan for implementing it during 1987-1989 were signed.

10 Mar

-- A delegation of the PRL [People's Republic of Poland] Sejm, headed by Chairman of the Sejm's Commission for Foreign Affairs and Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee Jozef Czyrek, ended its visit to the United States.

13 Mar

— The USSR was visited by a delegation of the Ideology Department under the Central Committee, headed by Department Director Wladyslaw Loranc. The delegation was received by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Vadim Medvedev.

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## BOOK EXAMINES PARTY TREATMENT OF OWN MISTAKES

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 5, 11 Mar 87 p 21

[Article by Jan Gierczak: "There Are No Taboo Subjects"]

[Text] The next book in the series "Reflections - Views" published by "Ksiazka i Wiedza" has appeared during the last year, and it will remain in political literature as an important and lasting mark from a turbulent period. It is not merely a collection of facts describing the time metaphorically called "the earthquake." From its pages we learn the scenario of the struggle in which the party battled forces opposed to socialism. We find a picture of sharp, controversial discussions and revaluations which accompany socialistic renewal.

The book by Tadeusz Czechowicz "There Is No Turning Back" contains many speeches and interviews given to various publications during the time that the author stood at the helm of the Lodz PZPR organization. From the time of the 9th Congress he entered the membership of the Political Bureau and led the Youth Committee KC PZPR. The reader will find no stereotypes or cliches. The complex reality in the time of the grave political crisis, the complicated conditions of party activity forced the search for unusual solutions. Bold departures from the standard format in activity, openness toward newly developing problems, elasticity in confrontations and resolving differences. This is the silhouette of a well known PZPR activist in the light of his own thoughts. These are best described by the following conclusion: "The party must win and therefore must use such political techniques and tactics in its struggle as to pull along the undecided masses". It should be stressed that the description of experiences during the time of restoring the bonds between the PZPR and the working class belongs to the most valuable part of the book.

In the collection containing the speeches and interviews, which were formulated in a hurried heat to answer "emotional" questions, there are generalizations, views and reflections which should become attractive lecture material not just for party activists. The author is, by training, a textile engineer, the possessor of several patents of his own invention. He is a onetime worker at the Wool Industry Enterprise "Gwardia Ludowa" in Lodz and a past activist in the ZMS [Polish Youth Union]. On the basis of his many years of party activity and the dramatic experiences of the past years, he shows the incredibly difficult process of making decisions and undertaking

activities during conflict situations. He gives an interesting answer to the question: "What do the new style and methods of PZPR activity signify?"

Especially worth recommendation as lecture material, especially for PZPR members active in youth organizations, are the parts of the book which contain thoughts on the problem of the party and youth. The author's reflections and experiences on the above topic are not only current but may be very helpful in solving problems which today present themselves to the activists in the youth movement. For example: a detailed lecture concerning the understanding of unity in the youth movement, the differentiation of unity in programming-education from formal-organizational unity (page 134), a wider, several times formulated reflection on the subject of the myth about the so-called lost generation (page 147), or the devastation in the awareness of the young generation (page 252). Worthy of recommendation is the lengthy interview on the above subject entitled "The Sense of One's Life" given during 1984 to ZYCIE PARTII.

In Czechowicz's book are valuable commentaries deeply rooted in Lodz realities, linked to the leninist thesis that "the party's stance to its own errors is one of the most important and most dependable gauge of the party's authority." The author often argues that the crux of the matter lies not in being infallible, but in the ability to analyze errors in detail and quickly reach the correct conclusions.

I titled this review "There Are No Taboo Subjects" because this conclusion is woven into the pages of the book. The courage in formulating the answers to the so-called difficult and annoying questions, without wrapping the matter in "cotton", not hiding the brutal reality, as for example the dreadfully small membership of youth in socialistic unions, are the features for lecture in the collection entitled "There Is No Turning Back". This is reflected in an interview given to the periodical POLITYKA entitled "A Politician Answers for the Results", which contains a contemplation on the subject of the drama of political activists, on the "difficult art of leaving" and the incomplete understanding in public opinion of the truth that "the politician is often a surgeon and must undertake decisions which may go counter to society."

Worthy of notice are the author's reflections on the subject of the state of the political culture in our society. It is not by chance that Czechowicz prefaces his work on the title page with the statement: "I am not afraid of differences in views, because I believe that they are the force which fuels all development, including party development. I would only want that they should become known while a minimum of political culture is preserved, so that the differences in views would not produce a monologue of the deaf but lead instead to a fruitful dialogue."

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CSO: 2600/486

## BRIEFS

UNIONIST TALKS IN COPENHAGEN—Copenhagen (PAP)—A delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Heat and Power Industry Employees, headed by its chairman W. Siewierski, visited Copenhagen. delegation held talks with the chairman of the Danish Committee for the Worker Conference of Baltic Countries, Norway, and Iceland. An exchange of trade-union groups was agreed upon and other forms of cooperation were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Feb 87 p 7] 1386

POLISH-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS DISCUSSED—On 6 Feb 87 the Deputy Speaker of the Sejm Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received the Ambassador of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia Branko Puharic. Aspects of Polish-Yugoslav mutual relations were discussed. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Feb 87] 1386

SOVIET FOREIGN AFFAIRS VISITOR—On 6 Feb 87 the Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Henry Jaroszek received Igor Andropov, Roving Ambassador of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The subject of the conversation was certain problems of the cooperation between both countries on international forums as regards human rights. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA OFFICIAL VISITS—Poland was visited by Secretary General of the International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT) Genadiy Codr [illegible]. At a meeting with the management of the Polish Radio and Television Committee (RTV), aspects of cooperation between the RTV and the OIRT were discussed. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

NORTH KOREAN AMBASSADOR HOSTED—On 11 Feb 87 the Chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Central Committee and Deputy Chairman of the Council of State Tadeusz W. Mlynczak received the Ambassador of the Korean People's-Democratic Republic O Mar Sok. The conversation dealt with the international situation, and especially with the recently advanced initiatives for a peaceful reunion of Korea. The development of relations between Poland and North Korea as as of cooperation between the SD and the Social Democratic Party of Korea were discussed. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

PRON HOSTS ITALIAN AMBASSADOR--On 11 Feb 87 the Chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council Jan Dobraczynski received the Italian Ambassador Paolo Galli. Current political and cultural issues of interest to both countries were touched upon in the conversation. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

SOVIET JOURNALISTS VISIT POLITBURO--On 11 Feb 87 was held a meeting between Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek and a group of Polish journalists specializing in Soviet affairs and Polish-Soviet relations as well as with Soviet correspondents accredited in Warsaw. The USSR Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov, who was present at the meeting, shared his reflections on the recent January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, discussing its most important results. Jozef Czyrek stressed the great international importance of the process of restructuring in the USSR, especially to the socialist countries and the worker movement. He pointed to the inspirational role of the innovative program assumptions of the CPSU, as well as to the convergence of the tasks being accomplished by Poland and the USSR, by our parties and nations. In the course of a working discussion the journalists raised issues relating to improvements in the form and contents of the dissemination of knowledge about the Land of the Soviets and Polish-Soviet relations. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

OPZZ HOSTS SOVIET JOURNALISTS--(C) "We want to put an end to a kind of stereotype in writing about Polish-Soviet relations and presenting trade-union issues," declared representatives of the Soviet trade-union newspaper TRUD, Deputy Editor-in-Chief for International Affairs Rudolf Kolchanov and Director of the Section for the Socialist Countries Yuriy Vasilkov. They had arrived in Poland at the invitation of the OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] in order to discuss with their Polish colleagues the possibility of expanding mutual contacts. As confirmed by the talks which they held in Silesia with reporters of the local branch trade-union press, both countries share the need to abandon propaganda stereotypes in favor of an honest and detailed presentation of issues of everyday concern to working people in Poland and the USSR. The meeting also afforded an opportunity for discussing the gradual changes being undergone by the Soviet trade-union movement with its 140-million membership in the course of the general restructuring of socioeconomic life in the USSR. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Feb 87 p 5] 1386

PZPR CC MORAL HEALTH COMMISSION MEETS--On 16 Feb 87 the Law, Legality, and Moral Health Commission under the PZPR Central Committee held its first session, with Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek chairing. The Commission discussed results of consultations on the proposed organizational-legal concept of the institution of citizen's rights spokesmen. In addition, Commission members examined reports on crime statistics in 1986, the activities of Worker-Peasant Inspection Teams, and the proposed amendments to the Decree on the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia. The Commission adopted a plan of work for 1987. [PAP] [Text] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

OPZZ CONTROL COMMISSION MEETS--(C) On 17 Feb 87 in Warsaw was held the first session of the OPZZ Intervention and Control Commission in its new term of



office. A document defining closely the scope of activities and organizational structure of this body was adopted. The Commission supported, among other things, the establishment of the OPZZ Office of Letters, Complaints, and Suggestions by 17 March of this year. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

LOCAL OPZZ POST-CONGRESS SESSION—(C) On 17 Feb 87 ended in Serock near Warsaw the first post-congress briefing-discussion meeting of the chairmen of national organizations of trade unions, devoted to discussing the principal socioeconomic and political problems of our country. The participants included Politburo Member and OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz and Director of the Socio-Legal Department under the Central Committee Andrzej Gdula. This form of direct contacts between trade unionists and representatives of the leadership of political, economic, and trade-union life will be continued. Its introduction is yet another example of the consistent implementation of recommendations of the Congress of Polish Reborn Trade Unions. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

GDR-POLISH WRITERS AGREEMENT—(C) An agreement for cooperation in 1987 between the Polish Union of Literati and the GDR Writers' Union was signed on 18 Feb 1987 at the House of Literature in Warsaw. This concerns further rapprochement between creative writers of both countries and mutual dissemination of their works. GDR poets were, among other things, invited to participate in the "Warsaw Poetry Autumn" and "Poznan Poetry November" festivals. Polish writers will, among other things, participate in the discussion, "Berlin—The City of Peace," to be held on the 750th anniversary of the capital of the GDR. In addition, a large number of research trips to gather literary material is expected. The agreement was signed by members of the presidiums of the governing boards of both unions: Jan Koprowski and Walter Flegel. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

RURAL YOUTH AKTIV MEETING—(C) On 20 Feb 87 in Jachranka near Warsaw was held a meeting between Deputy Minister Jozef Koziol and the leading aktiv of the Rural Youth Union. In the discussion considerable attention was devoted in particular to problems of implementing the common agricultural policy of the PZPR and the ZSL [United Peasant Party], the actual tasks facing the entire food industry, and the role of youth in spurring all activities serving to promote civilizational progress in the countryside and agriculture. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21-22 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

SOVIET GENERAL RECEIVED—(C) On 20 Feb 87 Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and Minister of National Defense Army General Florian Siwicki received the Commander of the Northern Army Group of the Soviet Army Lieutenant General Ivan Korbutov. Present at the meeting was the Government Plenipotentiary for the Sojourn of Soviet Troops in Poland Division General Zbigniew Ohanowicz. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21-22 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

YOUTH UNIONS OBSERVE ANNIVERSARY--In Krakow was inaugurated the central commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Socialist Youth Union (ZMS) and the Rural Youth Union (ZMW). ZMS and ZMW activists from across the nation and representatives of present-day youth organizations took part in this meeting

of generations. Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Gertych who was present at the ceremony conveyed to the gathered ZMS and ZMW activists, on behalf of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner, cordial acknowledgments and gratitude for personal commitment and contributions to rebuilding and developing our socialist homeland. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21-22 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

PZPR NOTES PUBLISHING PROBLEMS--A national conference of first secretaries of party organizations at publishing enterprises was held under the auspices of the Culture Department under the PZPR Central Committee. The participants were briefed about the position of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee on the current problems of the publishing movement. Major tasks of party work in the publishing community were discussed. Attending the conference were: Deputy Director of the Culture Department under the PZPR Central Committee Zbigniew Domino and Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Culture and Art Kazimierz Molek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

FORMER YOUTH AKTIV REUNION--(C) Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski met on 23 Feb 83 with merited activists of the Polish youth movement belonging to the Main Commission for the History of Youth Movement under the Governing Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. Main directions of activity of the Commission, commemorations of the 30th anniversary of establishment of the Socialist Youth Union and the Rural Youth Union, and preparations for commemorating the anniversaries of establishment of the Combat Youth Union and the Polish Youth Union were reported on by the Commission's Chairman Brigade General Tadeusz Pietrzak. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

PZP2 CC EDUCATION GROUP MEETS--A regular session of the Party Team for Organization and Management Sciences at the Science, Education, and Technical-Scientific Progress Department under the PZPR Central Committee was held. Problems of involving organization and management scientists and researchers in the processes of improving organizational structures and job certification were discussed. Also considered were problems of strengthening the status of organization and management sciences in Poland, developing the academic personnel, linking scientific research to the needs of the national economy, and curtailing the barriers to the introduction of efficient organization. The discussion was chaired by the Team's Chairman Professor Dr Leszek Pasieczny. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

KRAWCZUK VISITS CZECHOSLOVAKIA--Prague (PAP)--Upon the invitation of the culture ministers of Bohemia and Slovakia, the PRL [People's Republic of Poland] Minister of Culture and Art Professor Aleksander Krawczuk arrived on an official visit to the Prague last Tuesday. The purpose of his visit is to evaluate the current status of cultural cooperation between Poland and the CSSR [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic] and to define more precisely the plans for the immediate future. The Polish Minister was received by Secretary of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Jozef Havlin, who briefed him on the principal economic and political problems of the CSSR, with special consideration of aspects of culture and art. Aleksander Krawczuk also held talks with First Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of the Czech

Socialist Republic Ladislav Adamec. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

POLISH, BULGARIAN WRITERS COOPERATION--(C) At the House of Literature in Warsaw on 25 Feb 87 was signed a 1987 cooperation agreement between the Union of Polish Literati (ZLP) and the Bulgarian Writers' Union. The agreement was signed by Deputy Chairman of the ZLP Main Board Zygmunt Wojcik and Secretary of the Main Board of the Bulgarian Writers' Union Ivan Popivanov. Attending the ceremony was ZLP Chairman Wojciech Zukrowski. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

PZPR ACADEMY DIPLOMAS NOTED--On 25 Feb 87 at the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences (ANS) was held a graduation ceremony for doctoral and habilitation students. The ANS Rector Professor Jarema Maciszewski conferred six Habilitated Ph. D. diplomas and 53 diplomas for Ph.D. degrees in the humanities and political and economic sciences. The ceremony was attended by Central Committee Secretary Professor Henryk Bednarski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Feb 87 p 3] 1386

HIGHER EDUCATION TASKS NOTED--On 13 Feb 87 the implementation of tasks ensuing to higher education from the resolutions of the 26th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was evaluated at the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. At the meeting, which was attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, the Minister of Science and Higher Education Benon Miskiewicz and other higher officials at the ministry briefed the participants on this matter. It was found that the work to implement the resolution is proceeding properly. Directions of further actions to promote higher education were discussed. The meeting was attended by Director of the Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress Department under the PZPR Central Committee Boguslaw Kedzia. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

IDEOLOGY AKTIV CONFERENCE HELD--In Gorzow Wielkopolski was held on 13 Feb 87 a conference of the ideology aktiv. It was attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski. "In speaking of the party's ideological activity we must always bear in mind its relationship to the process of the socioeconomic development of this country," said the Secretary....[line missing]. "In party work at present we operate such a powerful instrument as the Congress program and resolutions. Thus at present the exploration of purposes of action is not as much important as an effective implementation of resolutions. The success of our undertakings depends on winning the confidence of the entire nation and its active support for our program." H. Bednarski next answered numerous questions of the Warsaw ideology aktiv. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

KIEV CONSULATE HOSTS VETERANS--At the PRL Consulate General in Kiev was held the traditional meeting with a large group of veterans of the Soviet and Polish armies. Such meetings are held once a year on the occasion of the Day of the Soviet Army. During this year's meeting Consul General Wladyslaw Kruk conferred on the veterans military medals and on the 15 or so veteran officers, diplomas of the Commission for Brotherhood in Arms under the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, awarded for active promotion of



the Polish-Soviet friendship born on the fields of battle. The diplomas were received by, among others, the retired Generals W. Kramar and W. Pilinski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Feb 87 p 7] 1386

URBAN, LAWYERS ASSOCIATION MEET--(C) On 26 Feb 87 a group of activists from the Polish Bar Association employed at the Ministry of Justice met with Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban. Certain problems of penal policy, criticism of activities of the judiciary by the Press, and the work of press spokesmen in the agencies for the administration of justice, were discussed. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Feb 87 p 2] 1386

POLISH-FINNISH EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE--In Helsinki was signed an agreement for scientific exchange between the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Finnish Academy. It represents, as stressed in the protocol, the contribution of the scientists of both countries to implementing the Final Document of the European Conference on Security and Safety. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Feb 87 p 1] 1386

GORZOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING--Assessing adherence to law and public safety and order, with special consideration of the status of the region's economy, was the topic of yesterday's meeting of the Gorzow Voivodship Defense Committee. Participating in the deliberations were the managers of 22 largest factories and enterprises in the voivodship. The REMOR Passenger Car Factory in Recz and the STOLBUD Construction Trades School in Gorzow were cited as examples of the implementation of the April 1986 recommendations of the Voivodship Defense Committee concerning preventive measures to promote respect for the law, streamline management, and protect public property in plants and factories. In the discussion, in which, among others, the heads of the Procurature and the Voivodship Court and the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Voivodship Council took part, it was stressed that, despite numerous favorable trends, the crime peril, including the peril of economic crime, remains significant. This is detected most often by the law enforcement bodies, which points to an ineffective internal control at enterprises. The negligent performance of their duties by persons responsible for protecting facilities and means of production against destruction is disturbing. The substantial number of crimes committed under the influence of alcohol and the drinking of alcohol on the job, which is also done by the persons responsible for public security, e.g., at the PKP [Polish State Railroads], points to lack of progress in combatting this social plague. In its proposals and recommendations the Voivodship Defense Committee pointed to, among other things, the close relationship between the pace of the reform and the growth in the effectiveness of management, on the one hand, and the effectiveness of attempts to eliminate sources of profligate use of property and economic losses, on the other. Hence the need to intensify preventive measures and audits and inspections by the management and plant sociopolitical organizations so that not only militia functionaries would be attending to these matters. The deliberations, chaired by Chairman of the Voivodship Defense Committee Voivode Stanislaw Nowak, were attended by First Secretary of the Gorzow Voivodship PZPR Committee Wiktor Kinecki. [By (sc)] [Text] [Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 18 Feb 87 pp 1,2] 1386



KRAKOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING--Under the chairmanship of Mayor Tadeusz Salwa, the Krakow Voivodship Defense Committee was in session. The Committee evaluated the status and operation of the communication system in the voivodship and adopted recommendations to streamline it. In addition, the Committee considered public order and security in Krakow City and Voivodship. [Text] [Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Feb-1 Mar 87 p 2] 1386

PILA DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING--(A) On 11 Mar 87 was held in Pila a session of the Voivodship Defense Committee. It was attended by Deputy Chairman of the National Defense Committee for Strategic Defense Affairs Minister of National Defense Army General Florian Siwicki. Security and public order in the region, political-educational work with pre-conscription-age youth, and the organization of conscription into military units and surrogate forms of military service were evaluated, upon adopting suitable recommendations. The plan for and degree of the preparation of resources and funds for the army's performance of tasks assisting agriculture in Pila Voivodship during 1987 was considered. [PAP] [Text] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Mar 87 p 1] 1386

CENSORED FILM DIRECTOR VISITS--Work is continuing on Andrzej Zulawski film "On the Silver Globe," which was held up 10 years. Krzysztof Lang, however, is preparing a documentary on the making of this film for the production group Kadr. But this is not the end of the Zulawski case, for the Warsaw film discussion club Kwant and the French Institute have held reviews of his famous films with their flavor of scandal, among which are "Country Estate" with Isabelle Adjani, "A Public Woman" with Valerie Kaprisky, "Above All Love" with Romy Schneider, and "Reckless Love" with Sophie Marceau. Those who succeeded in getting into these showings also had an opportunity to meet Andrzej Zulawski and Sophie Marceau, who accompanied him to Poland. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 6, 8 Feb 87 p 3]

BOOK ADVERTISING URGED--Bookstore shelves are now loaded down with goods. There is a lot of trash, but there are many interesting, worthwhile books, lying around, because no one knows about them. But good advertising that encourages reading should create a road to the reader for books. But there has been none for some time now. There is not any for example in magazines which have almost completely resigned from conducting regular columns on new publications, and one can count the number of titles which feature them on the fingers of one hand. Most publishers believing that they can sell every book as it is have ceased sending promotional copies to editors for review. This certainly does not create the appropriate atmosphere for books and their promotion. But part of the problem is that to reduce prices the publishers have resigned from promotional liner notes about the author and the given book. And later they complain that many books lie quietly on the shelves although if readers knew anything about them they might even buy them. Titles like "Nowy Swiat and Its Surroundings," "Krakowskie Przedmiescie Full of Deserts," or "The Mountains of the Blue Dreams" require no advertising, but not everyone is Konwicki, Rudnicki, or Newerly who sells himself! Many require help! [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 6, 8 Feb 87 p 3] 13021

CENSORED FILM RELEASED--Krzysztof Kieslowski's "Accident" has been released for distribution to film discussion clubs and studio theaters after several years of forced residence on the shelf. Currently he is preparing a series of 10 full-length television films titled "Decalogue I-X" which analyze how the basic moral norms function in our society using various examples. Two films will also be available in versions for theaters. Krzysztof Kieslowski and Krzysztof Piesiewicz, a lawyer, wrote the screen plays. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 6, 8 Feb 87 p 3] 13021

NEW LOOK AT USSR IN MEDIA URGED--Prof Wladyslaw A. Serczyk, author of such popular, well-written books as "Catherine the Great," "Peter I," "Ivan the Terrible," said goodbye a few months ago to the History Institute of the Jagiellonian University and moved to Bialystok, where the East Institute is to be. In response to a question from ZYCIE WARSZAWY about how better to acquaint Poles with Russians', White Russians', and Ukrainians' culture, he replied that even the best promotion of knowledge about our neighbors will do no good "if we do not change how we present information about the Soviet Union. Our mass media present that reality in an oversimplified way." Slowly and against great resistance something is beginning to change, however, in this material; it would be good if the process was lasting! [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 6, 8 Feb 87 p 3] 13021

POLITICALLY SENSITIVE FILM DESIRED--Henryk Kluba, the rector of the State Higher School of Film, Television, and Theater in Lodz and creator of such films as "Skinny and Other," "The Sun Rises Once a Day," "Story in Red," absorbed by pedagogical and social activities, has not made a film in a long time. Although perhaps such a moment is approaching. In an interview with a PAP correspondent, he said: "In general I want to return to film making. It seems to me that I have something yet to say and it would be worth using it. I do not know how to make a movie without emotion, I must have an internal need, I must have a text on important events that have or are happening in Poland, that would locate the film in socially and politically sensitive places." Perhaps such a text exists, perhaps someone is already writing it. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 5, 1 Feb 87 p 3] 13021

MORE VARIED BOOKS PUBLISHED--This year a number of important titles of Polish literature, including Tadeusz Konwicki's new novel "Bohin," Bohdan Czeszko's "Mazovian Nostalgia," Maria Dabrowska's "Diaries" (five volumes) will appear. They will be published by Czytelnik. Literary Publishers have announced Stanislaw Lem's new novel "Fiasco," Andrzej Kusniewicz's memoirs "Conversion," Jozef Hen's collection of short stories "Trustee of Hearts." Books and Knowledge will publish Wladyslaw Terlecki's "Wreath for the Just," and National Defense Publishers, Roman Bratny's "A Hangman's Fondness." This year our publishers' offerings are very interesting and varied where Polish literature is concerned. In addition to well-known names, the announcements include a number of debuts. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 5, 1 Feb 87 p 3] 13021

MUSEUMS NOTE FAILING CONSERVATION--Inspections by the Supreme Chamber of Control have shown that more than 50 percent of our museums' collections have not been scientifically inventoried. Many require immediate, complete conservation work. If it is not done these collections will decay. The

prospects are not good, for the rate of collection growth exceeds that of conservation. Also new museums are being created, for instance the so-called new voivodships are demanding funding increases for additional purchases of collections, which frequently are lying in the store rooms of existing museums. As we wrote recently, the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts intends, beginning this year, to make it more difficult to purchase collections and limit them to outstanding works or those that fall within the profile of the given museum. But are museum directors incapable of suitably justifying their purchases? [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 5, 1 Feb 87 p 3] 13021

SOVIET JOURNALISTS IN POZNAN—A group of Soviet newspaper, press agency, radio and television journalists accredited in Poland visited Poznan. They talked a great deal about the changes now occurring in the USSR. They also familiarized themselves with the socio-economic problems of the Wielkopolski region. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 11, 15 Mar 87 p 2] 13021

SATELLITE TV PERMITS REQUESTED—So far 255 people have applied for permits to install satellite TV antennas. Most are from Warsaw, Poznan, Szczecin, and Gdynia. An antenna including installation costs more than 500,000 zloty. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 11, 15 Mar 87 p 2] 13021

JAROCIN 'SATANISTS' SENTENCED—The epilogue of a famous incident that occurred last year during a rock music festival held in Jarocin was played out in the district court there. A dozen or so young people conducted a black mass. The victim was a brutally killed dog, and the altar was a casket taken from a grave. Wojciech Janeczko from Pochno was sentenced to 1 year and 6 months imprisonment, while Tomasz Jankowski from Szczecin, to 1 year imprisonment. [Text] [Poznan WPROST in Polish No 11, 15 Mar 87 p 2] 13021

NEW CONSTITUTION FAVORED--Prof Dr Zbigniew Radwanski, chairman of the Legislative Council: "The Legislative Council thinks that by 1991 a new constitution should be written. Not just because we will then be celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of the 3d May. The current constitution is the oldest of all such acts in the socialist countries. Some of the provisions are not adequate for the current social and economic situation of our state. We must more strongly emphasize the principles of the economic reform. Also we would like to make some purely legislative changes formulating them as legal norms rather than slogans or proposals. This will contribute to strengthening the legality over which the Constitutional Tribunal stands guard. For it to operate properly, especially for it to verify the compliance of law with the constitution, it must have legal status." [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 21 Feb 87 p 2] 13021

'INTERPRESS' HOSTS BLOC PRESS--As part of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Polish Agency Interpress, the general directors of the fraternal press agencies (Novosti, Panorama GDR, Sofia-Press, Buda Press, Orbis CSSR) visited Poland. Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, met with the directors of the press agencies of the socialist countries. They discussed foreign propaganda methods in light of the current world information order. Jan Grzelak, chief editor of the Press Agency Interpress, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Jan 87 p 2] 13021



BRITISH POLONIA VISIT NOTED--Alfred Morris, member of the House of Commons, and Stefan Knapp, artist and Polonia activist in Great Britain, visited Poland. They were received by Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, the deputy chairman of the Council of State. The main subject of their talks was closer cooperation with Polonia in Great Britain. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

STEELWORKS UNION FEDERATION MEETING--The participants in the meeting of the Federated Steel Workers' Unions in Katowice appealed in their resolution to all steelworks union organizations, workers self-managements, plant managements, and steel workers to undertake initiatives that will lead to meeting this year's tasks. Alfred Miodowicz participated in the deliberations. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

CONTACTS WITH GDR UNIONISTS--On Wednesday the Warsaw delegation of trade unionists led by Slawomir Nowakowski, which was in Berlin at the invitation of the Berlin Regional Board of the FDGB, concluded its visit. The guests familiarized themselves with the operations of the Berlin unionists and their participation in the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th NSPJ Congress. The unionists of both capital cities signed an agreement to cooperate in 1987. It calls for broadening cooperation to include exchange of information and exchanges of vacations and youth camps. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 87 p 7] 13021

PZPR AGRICULTURE PUBLICATION MEETING--On 22 January Kazimierz Grzesiak director of the Agriculture Section of the PZPR Central Committee met with the editorial staff of GROMADY--ROLNIK POLSKI. He familiarized himself with the newspaper's program in its 40th year of existence and listened to the opinions of the editors on agricultural issues based on letters to the editors and their own observations from the field. K. Grzesiak discussed the most important problems of economic policy for agriculture. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

JOURNALISTS ON 'PATRIOTIC UPERINGING'--On 22 January in the Silesian Military Region, the regional command met with journalists interested in military and defense problems. They discussed further cooperation between the military and the journalists in the patriotic and defense education of the younger generation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

PZPR LECTURERS SEMINAR--On 23 January a training seminar for lecturers of the central committee and voivodship committees organized by the Ideology Section of the Central Committee was held at the PZPR Central Committee building. Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski, president of the Polish Economics Society, discussed the second stage of the economic reform. Bronislaw Cias, deputy minister of finance, presented the basic principles of the financial policy of the second stage of the reform. Janusz Kaczurba outlined the problems of an export oriented economy and foreign trade. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24-25 Jan 87 p 2] 13021



**MINISTERIAL DELEGATION IN BUDAPEST**—A delegation from the Main Inspectorate of Control of the Office of the Council of Ministers led by Brigade Gen Edward Drzazga has visited Hungary. The delegation was received by Laszlo Ballai, chairman of the State Commission for People's Control of the Hungarian People's Republic, and by Karoly Ladvanszky, deputy minister of internal affairs. This was a working visit to Hungary concerned primarily with the defense and security of industrial plants and trade buildings, and museums. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jan 87 p 7] 13021

**PZPR VOIVODSHIP EDUCATION COMMITTEES**—The first secretaries of the university party committees and the directors of the education and scientific sections of the PZPR voivodship committees met recently. They discussed the major forms of party work in higher schools in light of the resolutions of the 10th party congress and the tasks of the basic party organizations at universities before the fourth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. Prof Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science and higher education, and Prof Wieslaw Grudzewski, under secretary of state in the Office of Scientific and Technical Advancement and Implementation participated in the deliberations presided over by Prof Boguslaw Kedzia, director of the Science, Education, and Scientific and Technical Advancement Section of the PZPR Central Committee. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

**HIGHER EDUCATION PARTY TASKS**—On 26 to 28 January the first secretaries of the university PZPR committees and the directors of the science and education sections of the PZPR voivodship committees met. They discussed the major forms of party work in higher education in light of the resolutions of the 10th party congress and the tasks of the basic party organizations before the fourth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. They called for the university basic party organizations to evaluate their work and abilities in light of the 10th party congress and of the 24th plenum of the central committee and to undertake new initiatives to improve the implementation of the functions of higher education. Among the participants in the deliberations, chaired by Prof Boguslaw Kedzia, director of the Science, Education, and Scientific and Technical Advancement Section of the PZPR Central Committee, were Prof Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science and higher education, Prof Wieslaw Grudzewski, under secretary of state in the Office of Scientific and Technical Advancement and Implementation, representatives of the ministries supervising higher schools, and the directors of the student youth unions. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISCUSSION SERIES**—As part of the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of NOWE DROGI the theoretical and political journal of the central committee, the editors have organized a series of discussions on selected theoretical and practical social and economic topics. The subject of the discussion on 29 January was the "Economic, Social, and Moral Motivations for Work." Among the participants in the discussion were Leszek Borcz, Stanislaw Borkowska, Tadeusz Grzeszczyk, Wieslaw Iwanicki, Zofia Jacukowicz, Wacław Jarmolowicz, Wieslaw Krencik, Zofia Morecka, Boleslaw Przywara, Igor Timofiejuk, Edward Wiszniewski, Stanislaw Wronski. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Jan 87 p 2] 13021

INTERNAL AFFAIRS IDEOLOGY CONFERENCE--The supervisory personnel of the internal affairs ministry held a ideological and theoretical conference in Warsaw. Gen of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of internal affairs, chaired the deliberations. The year's efforts on behalf of internal state security, citizens' safety, and defense of the national economy were reviewed. The directions and tasks for the internal affairs ministry for 1987 were defined. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Jan-1 Feb 87 p 2] 13021

PZPR CC HOSTS PRINTERS UNION--On 30 January the leadership of the National Council of the of the Trade Union of the Polygraphics Industry Workers represented by Stanislaw Wisniewski, Leszek Brojanowski, Zenon Krzemkowski, and Teodor L. Wentland met with the Culture Section of the PZPR Central Committee. They presented the major direction of the unions activities among printers. They expressed concern with current implementation of the program for developing polygraphics and drew attention to the danger of distributing the designated convertible currency among too many printing plants. Tadeusz Sawic, director of the Culture Section of the PZPR Central Committee, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan-1 Feb 87 p 4] 13021

YOUTH CULTURAL WORK NOTED--The cultural activities of youth were the subject of the meeting of Aleksandr Krawczuk, minister of culture and fine arts, with representatives of the Central Executive Board of the Union of Socialist Rural Youth and Jerzy Szajdzinski, president of the Executive Board of the Union of Socialist Rural Youth. A. Krawczuk listened with interest to the information about the Union's activities to promote artistic creativeness among amateurs, the creation of the young writers movement, the operations of the youth centers for culture, and the program for cooperation with creative young people. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan-1 Feb 87 p 4] 13021

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